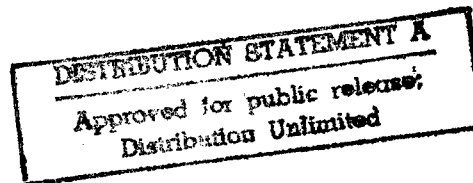


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2 April 1985

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AFGHANISTAN

KARMAL EXPRESSES VIEWS ON REVOLUTION, OTHER ISSUES

Kabul ANIS in Dari 16 Jan 85 pp 1-3

[Interview with Babrak Karmal; place and date not specified]

[Text] Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the Central Committee of the PDPA and chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA, was interviewed earlier by Portuguese journalist Alice Nicolou. We present here the full text.

Question: What are the basic characteristics and thrusts of the new phase of the revolution that began 27 December 1979?

Answer: The Sawr Revolution, which put an end to the long-time dominance of feudalism and the country's ties to plundering imperialist forces, not only encountered a lack of support but rather the insane enmity of international reaction and imperialism. From the very start, wide-ranging plans, intrigues and sabotage were hatched against the revolutionary achievements of our workers at the White House, at Langley, at the Pentagon, in London, Peking, Islamabad, Tehran and other centers of world intrigue. World imperialism, under the direction of Washington, with the collusion of the hegemonists of China and with the help of reactionary and inhuman regimes of the region, turned Pakistan into a springboard of aggression against the DRA, actively subjecting our country to armed aggression by organizing, training, arming and exporting antirevolutionary bands, which included big feudal landowners and ousted hangers-on of decrepit monarchical regimes, the upper-crust, dark reaction and mercenary elements. Moreover, errors and wrong turns in the national-democratic Sawr Revolution put our country and our people in a difficult situation and created serious threats and danger to the territorial integrity of Afghanistan and the revolutionary achievements of our oppressed people.

Therefore, the healthy forces of the PDPA, the organizer and leader of the revolution and of society, carried out the revolution of 27 December 1979 and the destruction of Amin and his criminal band--restoring the revolution to the true, principled, national and democratic course and saving it from deviation. In the new phase of the revolution--which the workers of our country rightly refer to as the phase that saved the revolution, the country and the people--not only were mistakes and blunders eliminated but wide-ranging actions to

correct mistakes and to reestablish the full and overall confidence of the masses in the revolutionary party and government were achieved.

With the victory of the new phase of the revolution, which symbolizes the unchanging unity of the PDPA, freedoms and democratic rule of law have been insured and strengthened in the country and the revolutionary party and government have taken great and effective steps to democratize social life. A series of democratic laws that reflect the interests and ideals of our people and the characteristics of the present phase of the revolution, ranging from the Fundamental Principles of the DRA to those governing local government and administrative offices, have been drawn up and promulgated.

Under recent law, the people of Afghanistan will participate directly in the administration of the country and the realization of economic and social plans and projects in their rural areas, districts, cities and provinces through the free election of their representatives.

The victory of the new and redemptive phase of the country's revolution from the dangerous abyss of deviationism, stabilized the unswerving program of revolutionary reforms in Afghan society. With the creation of true bases in the new phase of the revolution and the practical participation of the people in the revolutionary process, the revolutionary transformations again assumed their mass- and people-oriented character. The people of our country are moving forward along basic lines to put economic and social reforms into effect and to struggle in defense of world peace and human rights.

The defensive forces of the country have been strengthened and expanded more than before and many workers groups have mobilized for the active defense of their revolution and its achievements. The fraternal and internationalist help from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as all progressive forces of the world, has been of special importance to our party, government and people.

The success of the Saur Revolution brought the plans of its enemies to nought. This great victory set off the insane anger of reaction and imperialism, adding a new dimension to their unbridled and obvious interference in the internal affairs of our country--the unprecedented and expanding undeclared war against the DRA being a manifestation of that.

Our revolution is of a nationalist and democratic nature and today's toil and struggle of the masses sets the true, material and technical building of a new and just society free from future exploitation. The PDPA, as the party of the working and toiling classes of the country, stands as the leading force and the basic nucleus of the revolutionary and constitutional movement, placed as it is in the center of the country's expanded and new political system.

Question: How do you assess Soviet military aid to your people? Besides military aid, what are the other types of aid given by the Soviet Union to Afghanistan?

Answer: In pursuance of its perpetual Leninist policy of peace and solidarity with peoples on the road to independent development, the Soviet Union has and is fully, effectively and sincerely supportive of the DRA in defending its independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity and the revolutionary achievements of the people of Afghanistan against the aggression and interference of reaction and imperialism and in order to return conditions in Afghanistan to normalcy.

The Soviet Union aided the people of Afghanistan in the most difficult time in their history and has extended to our country various kinds of aid, including military assistance. There is a long precedent to the Soviet Union's readiness to defend the independence and freedom of Afghanistan, as in 1921 when it gave 5,000 rifles, sufficient ammunition and a quantity of gold to then newly independent Afghanistan so that it might be sufficiently prepared militarily against the aggression of imperialists and their local servants. The Soviet Union also extended necessary military help to arm and equip the Afghanistan Army during the time when prerevolutionary regimes were in power.

It was only a few weeks after the victory of the revolution that extensive, cunning, treacherous and aggressive plots against the DRA were begun. Training centers for antirevolutionary bandits appeared in neighboring Pakistan and Iran. There, those opposed to the Afghanistan revolution and directed by Western espionage organizations were trained and armed with the most modern weapons and sent into our country across border roads, which are the traditional migratory paths, to sabotage and kill.

Presently, Pakistan has been turned into a springboard and the center of aggression against the DRA, against the wishes of its people.

During the time when a real danger of aggression by imperialism and its lackeys threatened our country's independence and territorial integrity, limited military units of the Soviet Union were invited to Afghanistan at the legal request of the relevant authorities of the DRA--in accordance with the 1978 friendship, good neighbor and cooperation agreement between the DRA and the USSR and according to Article 51 of the UN Charter--to repel the aggression mounted by imperialism and regional reaction, to prevent the implementation of imperialism's plan to break up Afghanistan and to defend the independence and national territorial integrity of the people of Afghanistan.

The timely and fraternal Soviet help in repelling foreign aggression and in defending the achievements of the revolution and the DRA's independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity, played a decisive and great historical role. By dispatching a limited number of its military units on time, the Soviet Union forestalled implementation of the evil imperialist plan to eliminate independent, nonaligned and progressive Afghanistan.

This fraternal and timely Soviet help has the everlasting and profound gratitude of the government and the people of Afghanistan.

During its more than 65 years of existence, the USSR has consistently been the helper and benefactor of our people and has extended help to our people in

every way. From the point of view of quantity and quality, Soviet military aid to the DRA has developed and expanded.

The aid extended by this friendly and fraternal country in equipping our army with the necessary weapons, in increasing our combat capability and firepower as well as in the teaching and training of our officer and command cadres is clearly evident. Alongside military aid, Soviet economic and technical cooperation constitute important directions of Afghan-Soviet productive relations. This cooperation has developed and expanded each year and is playing an important role in our efforts toward national economic growth and in creating more favorable conditions for fundamental socioeconomic changes to the advantage of the masses.

The Soviet Union has provided conspicuous aid in the growth of Afghanistan's national economy and the attainment of the country's first 5-year plan, so that in the 26-year period from 1955 to 1981, 190 projects were or are continuing in Afghanistan with Soviet cooperation. The people of Afghanistan have high esteem for the role of the USSR in projects designed to achieve social, economic and educational growth. The oil and gas industries of northern Afghanistan, the chemical fertilizer and power plants in Mazar-e Sharif, the Naghlu and Pol-e Khomri power plants, the Jangalak factory, the Kabul International Airport, the central silo plant, the major Kabul-Heyratan highway with its 3-kilometer tunnel which goes through the Hindu Kush range and links the country's northern and southern sectors, the Torqhondi-Herat-Kandahar highway, the Jalalabad 70-kilometer irrigation canal with the Daruntah power station and its state farms, the elevated rail and auto bridge over the Amu River, the Shemshad space communication unit, the Kamaz transport company, the Kabul Polytechnic Institute, the oil and gas technical school in Mazar-e Sharif, the Kabul automotive technical school and others are shining examples of the overall productive cooperation between the two countries.

Since the victory of the revolution, new long-range and significant prospects have opened for productive Afghan-Soviet cooperation, including Soviet participation in construction of the copper mining and self-sufficiency complex at Aynak, one of the world's largest open-pit mines, an annual 500,000-ton oil refinery, new Kamaz vehicle and oil tanker centers and a transfer power line in the northern part of the country; construction of six local airports; renovation of Kabul international airport; expansion of agricultural and industrial products; renewal of coal mines, oil related industries and highways; construction of irrigation networks; production of adequate supplies of electricity, heating materials and other essential needs; as well as cooperation in the fields of public health, communications, education and training, higher learning, cultural affairs, etc. Parallel with economic cooperation, Afghan-Soviet commercial relations are expanding on the basis of aid to the DRA economy, so that the volume of trade between the two countries from 1977 through 1983 increased three and a half times and, according to estimates, trade figures for 1984 compared with the previous year are expected to show a 15-percent increase.

Question: Does Afghanistan have friendly and cooperative relations with countries not part of the socialist bloc?

Answer: The foreign policy of the DRA is based on the principles of peace and friendship between the peoples of the world, peaceful coexistence, proletarian internationalism, nonalignment, defense of independence and national freedom and good relations with all countries, especially our neighbors.

In its relations with other countries, the DRA acts on the principle of peaceful coexistence as a founding member of the nonaligned movement and an active member of the United Nations. Presently, the DRA has diplomatic relations with 80 countries, with a number of whom it has ties of friendship and cooperation in the economic, technical and commercial fields.

Among nonsocialist nations, one can cite traditional friendly ties with India. Relations between Afghanistan and India followed that country's political independence in 1947. The Afghan-Indian friendship treaty of 1950 forms the basis of productive relations between the two countries in the economic, commercial and cultural fields.

The Joint Afghan-Indian Commission was created in 1969 to expand economic, technical and commercial ties between the two countries. Traditional Afghan-Indian relations developed favorably following the Saur Revolution and cover wider economic and commercial fields.

The DRA has made necessary efforts to strengthen and expand its relations with fraternal Muslim countries on the basis of beneficial bilateral ties of friendship and cooperation. Following the Saur Revolution, therefore, diplomatic, economic and commercial ties between the DRA and Arab nations of Syria, Libya, Iraq, Kuwait, Lebanon and the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen have grown further.

The DRA's relations with Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, etc. increase and expand day by day.

The DRA has diplomatic relations with more than 20 capitalist countries and normal trade ties with some of them.

It is noteworthy that the DRA seeks to expand friendly relations with all countries, regardless of their social and political systems, according to the principle of peaceful coexistence, equal rights, territorial integrity, nonaggression and noninterference in each other's affairs.

The DRA, in line with the above-mentioned principles, has spared no efforts internationally to maintain normal and improving relations with countries with different social and political systems, but experience, history and present world events show that whenever a country takes the independent road of national and social progress for the benefit of its people, it comes up against the insane resistance of exploitive imperialist countries and countries tied to them. They resort to various means to prevent such countries from going the independent way.

Following the victory of the revolution in Afghanistan, this attitude was tested again. Our people's choice of the road to independent growth and the raising and strengthening of the DRA's good standing internationally aroused the mad anger of reaction and imperialism, which endeavor to isolate Afghanistan on the international level and even to cast doubt on the legality of the national and democratic regime of our country by various means, including such things as the undeclared war, the boycotting of economic and trade relations with Afghanistan and the trampling of their own commitments, increasing such attempts day to day.

But I would like to say once again that all such acts face effective defeat because Afghanistan is not alone at the international level and has sincere, tried and true friends. Socialist countries, national liberation movements, the international labor movement and all progressive mankind defend us.

Question: What have been the main gains of the people of Afghanistan in the years following the revolution?

Answer: The major gain of the people of Afghanistan following the victory of the Saur Revolution, which was achieved to bring about a fundamentally changed society, has been to establish the authority of workers and to create a new political system in the country. The victory of the national and democratic Saur Revolution, as a logical result of the long struggle of the workers of Afghanistan and as a practical response to the general and true wishes of our society to end the terrible economic-social backwardness in the move toward the national advancement of the toiling masses, has freed our society from its several-thousand-year-old chains of slavery and put our country on the high road of national and social pride.

With the establishment of the workers' authority in Afghanistan, the most basic democratic freedoms are now being realized and the country's workers, under the leadership of the PDPA, are increasingly participating in bringing about the aims of the revolution. The striking expansion of social and mass-oriented organizations such as the Federation of Guilds, the Federation of Peasant Cooperatives, the Democratic Organization of Women, the Democratic Organization of Youth, the Union of Poets, Writers and Journalists, the High Council of Religious Scholars and Leaders, the Council of Assemblies of Tribes and Nationalities, the Peace, Solidarity and Friendship Organization of the DRA, and others are proof of the broad and direct participation of the masses in the achievements of the revolution.

The formation of the DRA's National Fatherland Front, embracing as it does all national and democratic forces of nationalities, tribes and sects, is playing an important role under the direction of the PDPA in bringing about fundamental democracy and the creation of true bases for the participation of workers in the management of affairs. At present, the democratic and revolutionary process of law under the beacon of the Fundamental Principles of the DRA, which insures the democratic rights of workers in the country, has been secured.

Worthy customs and historic national and cultural traditions of the people are fully adhered to. The true equality of rights and the principle of fraternal relations between nationalities, tribes and clans of Afghanistan are carefully and basically followed. To totally eliminate feudalistic and pre-feudalistic ties, democratic and fair land and water reforms are being successfully implemented to the benefit of the majority of toiling peasants of the country as one of the basic, important and pressing revolutionary duties of the PDPA. The overall completion of this program, which has assumed new and qualitative dimensions, is continuing. Alongside the implementation of land and water reforms, we have taken firm steps to strengthen the cooperative movement, improve services in the agricultural sector and insure the unity of all national and democratic forces, especially the unity between farmers and workers. We believe unity between farmers and the working class guarantees the preservation of the great achievements of our revolution.

The fact is that the building of a new society cannot be done without an educational revolution. To reach this goal, the elimination of illiteracy is one of the orders of the day. We have been able so far to establish 20,000 literacy classes in the country.

With due consideration for this need, we are presenting and implementing a wide-ranging program aimed at eliminating illiteracy as one of the basic programs of the revolution. So far, 1.5 million people have completed literacy courses. The education and training of national cadres are of special importance to us and receive our overall attention. During the revolutionary years, 12,000 individuals have graduated from higher educational and vocational institutions and basic changes have occurred in the educational and learning system of our country in line with the needs of the present revolutionary situation.

Despite continuation of the imperialist undeclared war and the creation of numerous difficulties by enemies of the revolution, new universities, faculties, schools of advanced technology and technical vocational schools have been established. The program of strengthening government rule in districts, subdistricts and rural areas is continuing and expanding. The new revolutionary order is making its imprint in the remotest corners of the country, the people are turning to the new way of life as a continuous process and laying the foundations of economic and social changes. In the near future, local revolutionary organs, governmental bodies and the administration of the DRA will be based on general and democratic elections. At present, explanatory and political work is continuing in this regard.

The economic, social, educational and scientific policies of the DRA, which reflect the needs of the present stage of national and democratic growth, have the support of the majority of the people.

It must be noted that the social policy of the PDPA has prepared the way for wide-ranging means and possibilities for further strengthening the social pillars of the revolution, attracting people's capabilities in support of the revolutionary process, strengthening the confidence of the masses and increasingly isolating the counterrevolution.

During the revolutionary years, tens of new economic projects have been started, especially with the help of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The level of agricultural output in the past year increased 7.7 percent compared with 1357 [21 March 1978-20 March 1979], the first year of the revolution.

The role of the government and "joint" sectors in the economy of the government is on the increase.

To improve the living conditions of workers following the new phase of the revolution, wages have been increased twofold. In the current year, the pay of workers and government employees increased an average 18.7 percent.

Generally speaking, the rhythm of the country's economic growth is quickening, changes and profound transformations are taking place in various fields, state plans are being drawn up and put into effect; national cultures are growing; democratic and progressive laws are being instituted; policies are being implemented for the democratization of political and social life, the resolution of national issues and the deepening of understanding and cooperation between the country's nationalities, peoples and tribes; and important measures are continuing in order to provide the essential needs of the people and to raise the standard of living of the masses. Briefly, the revolution continues in Afghanistan, the people of Afghanistan are forming around the PDPA, their revolutionary vanguard, for the brave struggle against reaction and imperialism and for the even greater elimination of economic-social backwardness, and they have definitely decided not to turn back from the path they have chosen in order to attain social progress and general prosperity and to achieve the full realization of the important task of national and social uplift of the country.

Needless to say, were it not for the undeclared war of reaction and imperialism against our country, our success in various sectors of social and economic life for the people would have been even greater.

Question: Does the undeclared war by certain countries, led by the United States and China against Afghanistan, pose any threat to the revolution, and in what way does the war harm development projects in your country?

Answer: The undeclared imperialist war against the DRA is an unprecedented heightening of the obstinate and futile resistance of reaction and imperialism to the irreversible realities of our society and the unstoppable journey of revolutionary Afghanistan toward a new society. The war, which takes in a wide range of "dozey-dreamers" from forces of reaction and imperialism--from American imperialism to Chinese hegemonism, Pakistani military reaction, the medieval ruling regime of Iran and Arab reaction--reflects the savage enmity toward our revolution, which has opened a vista of true progress and prosperity for our country and people.

To demonstrate the intensity of this war, it is sufficient to note that Washington's anti-Afghan intrigues constitute the biggest sabotage operations of the CIA and the Pentagon of the past decade. U.S. imperialism and its allies have up to now spent more than a billion dollars for destruction and carnage in Afghanistan--six times more than that country's so-called aid--and that under special conditions--paid to Afghanistan in the 20 years preceding the revolution. At present, nearly 120 military terrorism training camps exist in Pakistan where bands of counterrevolutionaries are trained, armed, funded and exported to our country to carry out sabotage and murder.

Many of the saboteurs are trained in similar centers on Iranian soil as well as in China's Sinkiang Province.

Enmity toward our revolution is now an official policy of Washington. The United States and its allies do not hide the fact that they are generously helping bands of Afghan counterrevolutionaries and using them for their reactionary and dominating aims in Afghanistan.

The imperialist undeclared war has up to now damaged our economy to the tune of more than 1 billion Afghani, a figure equal to two-thirds of the total capital expenditures on the country's development in the 20 years preceding the revolution.

As a result of hostile and terrorist activities against the DRA, 254 mosques and holy sites; more than 1,840 schools, 130 hospitals and health centers; 800 motor vehicles; thousands of power and telephone lines; a number of power stations; and hundreds of other economic projects have been destroyed.

These clear realities are signs of widespread efforts by dark forces and regimes to destroy revolutionary foundations, prevent the rapid progress of revolutionary economic and social changes in the country and punish our people for choosing the new road of work and life.

But I would like to repeat what I have said many times: were it not for the undeclared war against our country and our people, we would have achieved much greater successes in improving the life of the masses. The main aim of the undeclared war of reaction, imperialism and hegemonism against our revolution, our people and our country is to block the economic-social progress of the country and, in effect, the full implementation of the national and democratic Sawr Revolution goals and to create political and social instability.

In one of the documents of the hellish CIA that was exposed by the media of our country last year, these aims are clearly outlined, lifting the veil on the true nature of the interferences of the Reagan administration in the internal affairs of our country. But it can be said with confidence that with the daily increasing expansion and strengthening of the foundations of the revolution, vast groups from various strata and classes of society have gathered around the party, the National Fatherland Front and the government, actively defending with arms the revolution and its achievements and the territorial integrity of the country. The counterrevolution has been isolated

in our society and the authoritarian and hegemonistic plans of world reaction and imperialism have suffered historic defeat. It is because of this reality that the bandits, despite the receipt of huge financial help and modern arms from the United States, China, Saudi Arabia and so on, are not and will not be capable of facing our armed forces and can only show off by resorting to savage and blind terrorism, such as placing a bomb in the Kabul international airport terminal, and such inhumane acts as firing ground-to-ground rockets at houses in cities, setting off blind explosions for the purpose of terrorising the populace, blowing up power pylons, and so on.

The undeclared war of the reactionaries against our revolution and our people has many shapes and dimensions and shows their profound hatred of the humanitarian goals of our revolution. This merciless undeclared war cannot bring our revolution to its knees, but it is creating many difficulties in our society's path to progress. I can assure you that with head held high, with clean hands and with great achievements for future generations, we will emerge victorious from the depths of this difficult situation.

Question: If Kabul's recent proposals to the United States should be unacceptable, do you see the possibility of new proposals being offered?

Answer: I must say in this regard that the well-known proposals of 14 May 1980 and 24 August 1981 of the DRA reflected all clear and realistic means of achieving a political solution through negotiation. It would be enough if our neighbors, who are persistently interfering in our country, would at least show sincere good intentions and a desire for finding a solution leading to the elimination of major problems.

The situation around Afghanistan, which is the result of the interference and aggression taking place for some time now against the DRA from Pakistan and Iran, can only be resolved politically through negotiations that would lead to an immediate and unconditional end to interference and aggression. We have revolutionary optimism for a political settlement. Not only are the DRA's proposals based on necessary desire, good intentions and a willingness to compromise for a political settlement through negotiation, but all possible and practical measures connected with the situation have been outlined in them. The important and basic thing in our opinion, however, is that the people of Iran and Pakistan want a peaceful settlement of our region's issues, a settlement that is the core of the DRA's proposals in this regard. We hope the other sides too will take the wishes and determinations of their people into consideration. In any case, the noble and patriotic people of revolutionary Afghanistan are determined to use all resources in the defense of their revolution, independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity. The armed forces of the DRA and the people of Afghanistan, with help from their friends, have the capability to withstand any danger and to defend themselves. Our constant aim and inherent desire is to defend peace and tranquility for the masses.

Question: What requirements does your government have regarding the possible withdrawal of Soviet forces?

Answer: As I said in response to your previous questions, Afghanistan is facing an undeclared war imposed by imperialism, lead by the United States and its accomplices and reactionary regimes in the region. When the interference and armed aggression of imperialism and reaction cease and reliable guarantees are forthcoming that such interference will not be repeated, in other words when reasons why limited units of Soviet forces were invited no longer exist, the question of the return of those limited Soviet military units will be assessed on the basis of joint decisions of the DRA and the USSR.

Question: What message does the 20th founding anniversary of the PDPA have for the people of Afghanistan?

Answer: At the turn of the decade of the fifties in our country, levels of political, national, democratic, patriotic and progressive circles came into existence expressing desires for revolutionary national and democratic changes and launching the struggle against despotic monarchy, feudalism, and feudalistic and foreign monopolies. That democratic movement gradually crested and young people, imbued with revolutionary spirit, emerged from among the leaders and participants of those circles, inspired by scientific socialism that could bring about the transformation and progress of society through revolutionary movement. The struggle of these circles lasted for years, until somewhat suitable national and international conditions of 1343 [21 March 1965-20 March 1966] led to the establishment of the PDPA and all of the efforts and struggles of the progressives and the left toward unity came to fruition at the first PDPA congress.

Emerging on the country's political scene as the new party of the workers and all toilers of the country, the PDPA in practice set the direction for the valiant struggles of the people of Afghanistan to achieve victory for the national and democratic revolution.

As the legitimate result of the people's struggle for national deliverance and relief from the terrible conditions of backwardness caused by a system of feudalism and pre-feudalism, the Saur Revolution, looking to a new society free from exploitation, attained victory under the leadership of the PDPA.

As the sole heir of the glorious traditions and lengthy struggles of the toilers of the country, the PDPA emerged as the leader of society after bringing about the victory of the revolution.

Today, the people of Afghanistan see how in practice the party, true to the goals of its constitutional congress and its program of action adopted at its nationwide conference, is faithfully implementing the party's platform step by step. In the period that followed the victory of the revolution, especially since the start of its new and evolutionary stage, wide-ranging measures have been and are being put into effect by the party leadership to benefit the workers of Afghanistan. This in itself results in greater confidence of the workers in their party. That is why the workers of Afghanistan have high regard for their party, the PDPA, which has valiantly struggled for two decades.

For the people of Afghanistan, today is the 20th anniversary of the PDPA, a celebration of wholehearted and sincere defense of and support for the goals and activities of the PDPA, a celebration of the achievements of the Saur Revolution and a celebration of the continuation of selfless struggle on the road to building a new society in Afghanistan free from the exploitation of man by man. It is the appropriate glorification of the founding anniversary of the PDPA by the masses, guaranteeing the continuation of revolutionary transformations and the clear emergence of the inseparable masses with their pioneering bold and alert revolutionary party.

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CSO: 4665/21

AFGHANISTAN

LAND REFORM TO CHANGE COUNTRY'S RURAL PROFILE

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 10 Jan 85 p 2

[Text] It is appropriate to mention that despite the undeclared war imposed upon our country by imperialist and hegemonist forces and their accomplices in the region, the people of Afghanistan have attained huge successes under the leadership of the PDPA in setting the economic foundations of a new society.

In line with special characteristics of our society, the elimination of feudalism and pre-feudalistic vestiges, through democratic and just solution of the question of land and water to the advantage of the toiling peasants of the country, received priority attention as the main thrust of the democratic revolution and as one of the most basic, important and proven duties of the PDPA.

With the realization of democratic land and water reforms our country's rural profile changed fundamentally, vestiges of feudalism were done away with, water and land became the property of peasants and now the product of the work of farmers belongs to them.

By 21 December 1984 some 681,764 hectares of land were distributed free of charge among peasants with little or no land. Eleven million people of rural areas were freed from usury, advance loans and mortgages. A sum of 722 million afghani payable by farmers for preceding years were written off, the prices of chemical fertilizers and agricultural machinery were reduced 20-40 percent and the price of farm products was increased 20-30 percent the first time and 40-60 percent the second time around.

In order to achieve a proper solution of the water problem and its later development, the Water Affairs Department was set up under the Ministry of Agriculture. In the period from 1357 to 1363 [21 March 1978-20 March 1985] land under cultivation increased by 15.03 percent annually. During the same period 3.44 billion afghani was given to farmers in the form of long-, medium- and short-term loans, agricultural machinery valued at 34.98 billion afghani was placed at the disposal of the peasants and chemicals valued at 814.32 million afghani were given to farmers to fight blight and animal diseases.

One of the reasons for the success of the democratic land and water reforms is that during the new and evolutionary phase of the revolution, shortcomings

and mistakes caused by haste and inattention were eliminated with the issuance of decrees, guidelines and target papers as well as changes in some articles of Decree No 8 issued by the Revolutionary Council. And a number of measures were introduced to the benefit of peasants including: 1) Surplus land over and above the allowable acreage within the area of such acreage belongs to peasants free of charge. Previously they purchased such land at 7,500 afghani per jarib; 2) Cultivable land, life tenureship and temporary holding within the allowable acreage is given to the occupier free of charge; 3) No registration fees are imposed; 4) Owners of orchards and vineyards can, under specific conditions, have more than 30 jarib of orchard or vineyard in their possession; 5) For the deserving with large families up to another 30 jarib of land will be turned over; 6) Up to 30 jarib of cost-free land will be given to those possessing acceptable documentation.

As a result of modifications in Decree No 8 of the Revolutionary Council, the stage was set for the active participation of the peasantry in the implementation of land and water reforms. The council of peasants of the village which has been formed in the present stage is the legal representative of all peasants of that village in resolving problems relating to a better use of land and water and the democratization of relationships in the village concerning land and water.

It must be realized that with each passing day we are step by step nearing the final goals of the revolution and for this reason we look with assurance to the future.

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CSO: 4665/24

AFGHANISTAN

LAND REFORM CONTINUES IN NANGARHAR

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 8 Jan 85 p 2

[Text] Mohammad Na'im Yadegari, general director of land reforms of Nangarhar Province said in an interview with the correspondent of HEYWAD: The fulfillment of land and water reforms in the DRA is a vital issue for our society and one of the major objectives of the Sawr Revolution because in the first place millions of peasants closely feel the righteousness and methodology of the revolution and in the second place social justice is established in a national and democratic phase to end the oppression and suppression which had been going on in our society for years. At the same time the way is opening for a genuine uplifting of the agricultural sector and the increasing of agricultural production which has political and economic importance.

He added during his talk: In 1360 [21 March 1981-20 March 1982] land reform operational groups in Nangarhar Province began the second phase of work under which land has been and is being distributed free of charge to peasants who have little or no land. It must be noted that in the course of the second stage of land reforms, in addition to the correction of previous errors, 610 jarib land was distributed to 78 peasants with little or no land.

Also 29,473 jarib of land were turned over to 3,326 households and 1,976 jaribs of surplus land were given to peasants with little or no land.

He said: It must be mentioned that the work of the Land Reforms Office is not limited to the distribution and settlement of land. In order to resolve difficulties and problems of toiling farmers we have also set up a peasants' council in Nangarhar province, and during the current year we have established 14 peasant cooperatives in 16 village areas, involving a total distribution to peasants of 199,760 tons urea and phosphate fertilizers.

Speaking of social institutions of the Nangarhar land reforms directorate, Yadegari said: The Peace and Solidarity Organization, Democratic Youth Organization and the Federation of Guilds have worked shoulder to shoulder with party friends in active effort to carry out government plans. Recently, too, a self-defense unit was established within the Nangarhar Land Reform Directorate, with 10 assignees and hired hands of the office now busy protecting their place of work.

AFGHANISTAN

RURAL COUNCILS CREATED IN BORDERING VILLAGES

Kabul ANIS in Dari 10 Jan 85 p 1

[Text] The district council of the National Fatherland Front in Golran of Herat Province has 668 members who joined in individual capacity and has recently enrolled 266 in the hamlets of Bagh-e Kohneh, Ne'emat, Shadman, Yaz, Alizay, Robat-e Sargardan and Chah Moradak, located near the Iranian border, as members of the council and local councils.

Haji Zarrin Kuchi, district head and chairman of the Golran district council, gave the above details and explained the orientation activities of the council, saying: This district council's employees of the Golran National Fatherland Front involved in this aspect of the work, every day and especially on holidays, and religious and anniversary events, visit gathering places of the people, mosques and schools and at group and individual rap sessions expound on a widespread basis, according to guidelines of the party and government, the goals of party and the DRA government, the legitimacy of the revolution, the government's objective in land and water reforms, aims of the National Fatherland Front, implementation of the law of local institutions, power of the government, peace councils, encouragement and enrollment of people in literacy courses, creation of village and local residential councils, the long-time Soviet friendship and the voluntary joining of the people to the ranks of the armed forces of the DRA for the defense of the country and the glorious Sawr Revolution in the villages and hamlets of the district. It is because of this and the understanding of the goals of the party by the people that the revolutionary government and the National Fatherland Front want the toiling people of the district to refer to and become members of the front.

The chairman of the district council of the Golran National Fatherland Front spoke about the organizing of voluntary work at the council level: In honor of the 6th anniversary of the Sawr Revolution and its historic days, the district council of the Golran National Fatherland Front organized voluntary work projects with the participation of members of related councils involving the cleaning of roads and streets, building of bridges, the repair and painting of mosques, cleaning waterways and helping peasants with their harvesting. As a result, a considerable sum of money went into the national coffer.

Haji Zarrin Kuchi, chairman of the district council of the Golran National Fatherland Front said: A family counselling commission set up by the council was instrumental during the current year in settling 10 family disputes which would have otherwise left those involved in a state of confusion.

The chair of the district council of the Golran National Fatherland Front said: 70 individually-joined members of this council have been formed into a self-defense group and are currently protecting various localities.

He added: As a result of the widespread indoctrination by employees of the district council of the Golran National Fatherland Front 200 individuals have voluntarily joined the armed forces.

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CSO: 4665/27

AFGHANISTAN

WATER CHLORINATION, WELL DRILLING REPORTED

Kabul ANIS in Dari 4 Jan 85 p 1

[Text] The Deh Mazang residential sector council of the National Fatherland Front was created within the third Kabul sector in the spring of 1984 and now has 106 individual members and 1,864 who comprise group memberships and include the hamlets of Kalali, Brikut and Deh Mazang.

Abdolrahman, chairman of the abovementioned residential council explained the activities of his group in a talk with correspondent of ANIS, saying: Mobile and regular propagation teams of the council have explained and continue to explain the lofty goals of the revolution and popular and democratic aims of the National Fatherland Front, individually or in groups, to farmers, workers and tradesmen. In the summer of 1984, 42 persons, recognizing the justice of the national and democratic Sawr revolution, joined the ranks of the defenders of the revolution and pledged not to put down their arms until the uneducated and criminal brigands are annihilated. Also 50 young people who were of military age joined the armed forces with revolutionary spirit and dedication and 800 orientation leaflets, magazines and hand and wall posters were distributed and/or put up to highlight the deeds of counterrevolutionary elements and to make the public aware of the high goals and thoughts of the National Fatherland Front.

He added: During the current year [ending 20 March 1985] the council has been able to organize 13 voluntary chores, i.e. maintenance and painting of mosques and schools, and asphaltting and gravelling of roads in the hamlets of Seyyed Ja'afar Aqa and Tappeh Salam, to sink 5 wells in the Ziyarat Sakhi Saheb and to chlorinate 195 drinking water wells. And in line with the plan of the regional council of the 3rd sector of Kabul's National Fatherland Front, this council assigned 45 individual members of the front to control prices and insure proper sale of diesel [heating?] oil.

He added: The Deh Mazang residential council, with the all-out cooperation of the party and the government through the National Fatherland Front's 3rd Kabul precinct's council has distributed shoes, clothing and food to 120 family members of the martyrs of the revolution.

He said: The Deh Mazang Council has carried out intensified work to wipe out illiteracy and has set up 6 literacy courses in which 210 enrollees are being taught by National Fatherland Front group membership units.

The abovementioned individual said in conclusion: Our council has a family relations commission which has settled 10 family quarrels this year and created the atmosphere of friendship and affection among members of those families.

AFGHANISTAN

FINANCIAL SUPPORT GIVEN TO ISLAMIC AFFAIRS

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 27 Feb 85 p 4

[Text] Kabul (BIA)--The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) has charted out a policy of respect, observance and preservation of religion of Islam and put it into practice on an extensive scale. On the basis of this policy, for the first time in the history of the DRA, the General Department of Islamic Affairs was established together with the High Council of Scholars and Clergymen; the latter being an authoritative social organisation. Spiritual and material facilities have been provided to Muslims for the performance of their religious rites. Mosques, shrines and other religious centres and holy places have been repaired and painted. Ample material privileges were provided for the working Muslims of the country for Haj pilgrimage to holy Mecca.

On the basis of this policy, over 3,400,000 dollars was spent by the state for the construction of new mosques, renovation of existing mosques and other holy places in the past three years. In the same period an amount of 180,000 dollars was spent to purchase fuels for mosques during winter season. Over 20,000 dollars has been spent for holding Quran recitals during the current Afghan year alone. Implementing the policies of the PDPA, the revolutionary state has given a subsidy of over 9,400,000 dollars to encourage the compatriots to perform Haj pilgrimage.

Right now in the revolutionary Afghanistan great respect is being paid to the patriotic clergymen and all possibilities and facilities have been put at their disposal to popularize the humanitarian principles of Islam.

This humane policy of the state enjoys the broad support of scholars, clergymen and all the working Muslims of the country.

The scholars and patriotic clergymen of the DRA have given so far innumerable sacrifices in the defence of this policy and are proud of it. Right now they are ready to give any kind of sacrifices. Proceeding from the position of real Islam, they denounce the inhumane, anti-Islamic and criminal deeds of the counter-revolutionaries, who deceptively cover their shameful and reactionary actions under the mask of the so-called Islamic Jihad.

CSO: 4600/336

AFGHANISTAN

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY PROVIDED FOR DEPRIVED

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 24 Feb 85 p 2

[Text] In order to provide education opportunity to those students, who could not continue their education due to different economic reasons, the Workers' Preparatory Faculty was established in 1983 in accordance with the protocol signed between the Central Committee of the Democratic Youth Organisation of Afghanistan and the Polytechnic Institute. Now, some 300 students are studying in this faculty.

Mainly those students are enrolled in the faculty who are either economically poorer or the pupils of eighth grade and higher grades as well as the students, who could not attend schools for two years and work in one of the state offices.

Candidates for this faculty are admitted to a 10-member commission to the faculty on hostel and non-hostel basis. In addition to lodging and boarding facilities Afs 500 is given to students as extra salary who live in the hostel and Afs 1,500 to those who come from their own houses.

The teaching system of the faculty is prepared in such a way that all students complete two classes in one academic year. Students who come from the 11th grades, are enrolled in one-year programme and the others, who come from ninth and 10th grades, in two-year programmes.

It should be stated that subjects of Dari, Pashtu, mathematics, history, geography, physics, biology, painting, technique, chemistry, sociology, physical training and Russian language are taught by experienced teachers.

As well as in the faculty the students study the professional fields such as construction, geology and mines, architecture, road, airport construction, hydrology and electro-mechanique.

CSO: 4600/335

AFGHANISTAN

TEACHERS PREPARED FOR NEW EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 24 Feb 85 p 2

[Text] Various seminars have been convened by the Institute of Teachers' Complementary Profession for preparing the teachers for the implementation of new educational system.

Explaining the working method of these courses, a spokesman of the Institute said: "Completion of teachers' profession is one of the greatest gains of the first congress of teachers of the DRA.

"From its establishment till now, the work of the Institute has been organized by taking into account the annual, quarterly, and daily plans, and for the sake of qualitative, professional, scientific and methodic achievements of pedagogy cadres or instructors, heads and educational employees as a whole, the institute has organized all-sided activities based on the scientific contents of the national and democratic revolution, for instance, the convening of many seminars in the capital and provinces of the country.

"The seminars on the completion of teachers' profession are held with the participation of teachers of the capital and provinces. The number of attendants is 16,000 of whom 5,000 completed their term up to September last and another 5,000 are attending the seminars now.

"Since the new educational system will be implemented in seventh grades in the coming academic year, therefore, the subjects related to this have been included in the seminar, organized for the seventh grade teachers. This seminar was scheduled to be held from December 10, 1984 to March 3, 1985.

"The present methods conducted by the seminars are useful and effective, because the teachers have acquainted with them and would face no difficulties in implementing them. At the end of every seminar, tests are given to teachers and the process of teaching is evaluated.

"Inclusion of the subjects on general sciences and other professional fields such as sociology, pedagogy, psychology, traffic, health, and radio has also added the effectiveness of the working system in seminars.

"In addition to these the seminars are held in other forms too. For instance, opportunities are provided for those teachers, who cannot attend the regular seminars."

CSO: 4600/335

AFGHANISTAN

EFFORTS TO ERADICATE ILLITERACY UNDERWAY

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 27 Feb 85 p 2

[Text] As a result of the endeavours of the PDPA, revolutionary state and National Fatherland Front of the DRA, the literacy campaign has changed to a common duty. During the post-revolutionary years which is a relatively short time compared to the long reign of monarchical reactionary regimes, over 1,050,000 persons including peasants and workers have learned literacy.

Based on the progressive programme of the party and state and in accordance with the instructions of Council of Ministers of the DRA, the literacy campaign department has taken firm steps for realization of this human objective of the party. Today, official, contract-based and volunteer teachers are busy teaching our illiterate compatriots in cities, counties and the remotest areas of the country. People of the country along with intellectuals are fighting the darkness.

The Literacy Campaign Department, honouring the founding anniversary of the PDPA, has opened 55 literacy courses for women and 55 courses for adults and children who due to some reasons could not continue their studies. Presently, over 40,000 inhabitants of Kabul city have joined literacy courses whereas during one decade of monarchy only 5,000 persons were graduated from literacy courses.

Comparing the above figures, we can say that no attention was paid to this field during the monarchical reign.

The National Fatherland Front of the DRA, this great gain of the new and evolutionary phase of the April Revolution, has set up its councils almost in all counties, cities and sub-districts of the country for explaining the lofty objectives of the party and revolution. The NFF has also taken a valuable part in the literacy campaign program of the revolutionary state. It has set up 850 literacy courses in different cities, counties and sub-counties of the country wherein 18,000 persons are learning literacy.

CSO: 4600/336

2 April 1985

AFGHANISTAN

PROJECTS UNDER STUDY TO SUPPLY SAFE WATER

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 26 Feb 85 p 2

[Text] By putting into operation the new water supply project of Kabul not only considerable facilities in regard to drinking water will be provided to the citizens but it would also be significant step in supplying of hygienic water through main networks for preventing the spread of various diseases.

A spokesman of the water supply and canalization department stating this further talked about the future plans of the department and said, "the future plans of the department constitutes construction of the second phase of water supply; study and design of first part of canalization of Kabul city; construction of the second phase of water supply project of cities of Kandahar, Herat Mazar-i-Sharif, Jalalabad, Ghazni; the first phases of water supply of cities of Pulikhumri and Aibak and completion of the projects under construction in the cities of Charikar, Baghlan, Khanabad, Kunduz, and Qali-Naw."

He added "during the current Afghan year (corresponding to mid 1984 up to March 1985) this department has carried out its activities in two parts, i.e. developmental and ordinary. The department has been able to achieve considerable successes in both.

In the developmental part crowning among them are completion of the remaining huge projects such as, completion of water supply project on the river of Lughar, water supply project of Afshar and the renewal of 8 km water pipes of the third part of Parwan.

In the ordinary part, can be mentioned the supply of 35-40 thousands cu. m daily to Kabul citizens; renewal of about 2500 meters of water pipes and a large number of various other projects," he concluded.

CSO: 4600/336

AFGHANISTAN

FIVE HUNDRED SIGN UP FOR LITERACY COURSES IN KONARHA

Kabul ANIS in Dari 24 Jan 85 p 4

[Text] Realizing that literacy is a major necessity and a means to enlightenment, the toiling people of our country, in various localities, with each passing day, are joining literacy courses to learn reading and writing.

Along this line, 500 soldiers, workers, peasants and older men and women, who had been denied the blessing of literacy as a result of the anti-educational attitudes of former reactionary regimes have signed up for newly-formed literacy classes in the 9 months ending 21 December 1984.

In giving the above information, the director-general of the literacy program of Konar Province said during an interview with the correspondent of newspaper in the Konar administrative city of Asabad: Out of these 500 of our illiterate toiling brothers, 300 were from various offices in Asadabad, and from various military or police units and companies who enrolled in 18 new literacy courses. And 200 signed up for literacy classes in the districts of Asmar, Chowki, Sarkani and the subdistricts of Marawari and Naray.

He added: At present 1,500 individuals who had been denied the blessing of literacy have signed up and are studying in 91 literacy classes in the administrative center of Konar, the districts of Chowki, Asmar, Sarkani, Khas Konar and subdistricts of Narang, Marawari, Naray and Nurgol.

The above mentioned person was critical of the extent of cooperation given by party officials and social institutions of Konar Province to the literacy program and expressed hope that party, government and public officials will take an active part in realizing the goals set by party and government leaders.

In answer to a question as to the number of literacy classes in Asadabad and how many students and teachers were involved in them, he said: A total of 607 people are enrolled in 39 classes in Asadabad and are being taught by 17 contract and honorary teachers. Also, more than 900 individuals in various districts, subdistricts, villages, hamlets and offices of the province are being taught by 28 teachers.

In the 9 months ending 21 December 1984 a total of 300 people received their course-completion certificates and saw the light of literacy.

2 April 1985

AFGHANISTAN

LITERACY PROGRAMS EXPAND THROUGH VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE

Kabul ANIS in Dari 29 Jan 85 p 4

[Text] Abdolwahab Kargar, head of the residential council of Gozar-e Tanursazi of the 1st district of the National Fatherland Front said: This council was formed in May of last year and was able to have 40 people voluntarily join the council.

The head of the residential council of Gozar-e Tanursazi gave this information concerning the organizing of voluntary work programs of the council: As a result of the tireless efforts of members of the council 10 voluntary work programs have been carried out during the past year, including repair and painting of mosques, cleaning up of streets and waterways, making drinking water available for the public, et., This will provide a large amount of revenue for the national treasury.

He added: Also the council has put up more than 50 wall posters and a number of other propaganda sheets in busy localities. Also, the orientation staff of the council go to mosques on Fridays and holidays and explain to the public in detail the goals of party, government and the National Fatherland Front.

He had this to say about the setting up of literacy classes: The Gozar-e Tanursazi residential council enrolled 95 individuals in literacy classes taught by volunteer teachers in the 7-month period ending 22 October 1984.

He then commented on help to indigents by saying Gozar-e Tanursazi residential council gave 10,000 afghani for the funeral expenses of a needy woman.

He also said: The council has up to now helped settle 10 family disputes and during individual meetings once a week with the religious leader of the Gozar mosque, discussions are held about the high goals of the PDPA and the aims of the National Fatherland Front, and ways to attract people to participate in various activities.

5854

CSO: 4665/36

AFGHANISTAN

REDUCTION IN MILITARY SERVICE TERM WELCOMED BY CITIZENS

Kabul ANIS in Dari 24 Jan 85 p 1

[Text] Gholam Ghaws, head of the trade union at the Jangalak factory, had this comment on the reduced term of active and reserve military conscription from 3 years to 2: As our noble fellow-citizens know, the ranks of our brave armed forces are strengthened with each passing day as a result of the young people who enlist with full awareness because of the healthy atmosphere in units of the DRA armed forces, proper military training and the up-grading of the knowledge of the rank-and-file, the provision of literacy courses for soldiers, recreational and sporting programs, the provision of material and spiritual benefits available to soldiers and the fraternal behavior of officers toward their men. As a result of the awareness of the masses in the righteousness of the Sawr Revolution and the humane goals of the revolutionary party and government, the creation of self-defense groups, civilian groups for the defense of the revolution, and frontier militia whose number reach tens of thousands from various nationalities of the country in defense of the revolution and the benefits it has brought, a mountain-like barrier has been created from factories and government institutions, farms, hamlets, villages and public service agencies in brave defense against counter-revolutionary elements. Also, those of our deceived fellow-citizens who have come to realize the humane goals of the party and the righteousness of the revolution and groups who have left counter-revolutionary bands carrying their arms, have joined the government.

5854

CSO: 4665/36

2 April 1985

AFGHANISTAN

HEALTH SERVICES TO BE EXPANDED

Kabul HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR in Dari 31 Jan 85 p 1

[Text] Comrade Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the Central Committee of the PDPA and chairman of the DRA Revolutionary Council assessed health services in the country at the last meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PDPA, stating: "As a result of the policy of reactionary feudalistic regimes dominating our society prior to the Saur Revolution, the level of medical knowledge, like all economic, social and educational sectors were in terrible shape. In those times, the fatality rate among mothers was 67 in 10,000 while the fatality rate among children less than a year old was 184 among 1,000 children born alive. Thirty percent of children died before reaching the age of 5. Medical care and health services were only adequate for 10 to 15 percent of the population in urban areas. There were no clear-cut programs for improved health services and the production, import and distribution of medicines. All this was a bitter manifestation of the despotic attitude of the feudalistic and semi-feudalistic systems regarding the health of our people."

The take-over of political power by the toiling masses under the direction of the PDPA created real possibilities for the basic solution of social problems and the elimination of social and national inequalities. The PDPA's social policy is to draw up and complete a wide circle of programs and relationships upon which social growth rests. One such area is the improvement of medical services and the raising of medical knowledge of public health employees in our country, something to which reactionary feudalistic regimes prior to the revolution paid no heed and as a result of a lack of observance of environmental health principles, the supply of inappropriate medicines, malnutrition and tens of similar disorders, contagious diseases used to break out and cause the death of our fellow citizens.

Following the revolution and consolidation of the sovereignty of the toilers "for the first time health became the inalienable right of every individual in our society and was written into our party's program of action and the Fundamental Principle of the DRA without any discrimination or distinction, and laws, decrees and regulations were approved in order to up-grade health services." In order to safeguard the health and well-being of the people and organize medical help for all toilers of the country, the following

duties were outlined for party and government organizations: Help toward the growth and all-out expansion of government networks, hospitals, clinics, pharmacies and first-aid centers as well as making arrangements for free medical treatment of worker in cities and rural areas; the establishment of a nationwide, general and governmental health care insurance for workers, the expansion of the government social security system, the system for the protection of mother and child and an extensive system of kindergarten and infant-feeding centers.

Despite the obstinate imperialist assaults and evil efforts of the enemy, determined steps have been taken in recent years for providing health services and for up-grading the level of knowledge of the employees of the Ministry of Public Health of the DRA as well as for providing medical treatment for all free of charge. The network of health institutions are expanding in the country, the hospital bed capacity has increased more than 80 percent and practical steps have been taken in the training of medical personnel, particularly local cadres and mid-level medical employees. But it goes without saying that policies have not been utilized and put into action in a manner desired by our party and the people of our country.

Comrade Babrak Karmal stressed at the last meeting of the Political Bureau of the party's Central Committee that the Ministry of Public Health faces the undelayable responsibility of creating a reliable atmosphere of coordination and cooperation in work, a balanced assignment of medical cadres throughout the nation, provision of health institutions with essential personnel and equipment and the expansion of over-all medical services in the country to the utmost degree possible.

Presently our people have come to believe more than ever before that the policy of the PDPA is directed toward solving economic, social and idealistic problems and insuring their interests. This truth has been proven that our party's policy is the true line that manifests the needs and aspirations of our people.

The realization of these responsibilities not only changes the material and spiritual living conditions of the classes, social strata and groups, nationalities, peoples and tribes of the country but transforms the present relationships between them to a marked degree and helps in the general progress, the up-grading of the welfare standards of the toilers and the defensive strength of the country.

5854

CSO: 4665/34

AFGHANISTAN

EMERGENCY AID PROVIDED FOR 2900 PERSONS SINCE NOV 84

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 31 Jan 85 p 1

[Text] The emergency medical station of Ibn-e Sina hospital, since its establishment 5 November 1984 to date, has helped 2,900 needing medical attention by transferring them to various hospitals. Most of them were victims of heart attack, women patients and those involving birth problems, burns and traffic accidents.

The information was given by Hashem Alkozay, head of the Kabul emergency medical brigades who added: According to the rising indicator of emergency medical accidents, the above station was set up as part of the emergency division of Ibn-e Sina hospital with 6 ambulances, 6 doctors and 6 nurses and full medical equipment to be on call 24 hours a day to serve patients and service center. The ambulances and medical equipment of the station has been supplied by the fraternal country of Czechoslovakia.

In response to a question, Alkozay said: Telephone numbers 24620 and 23372 are available to Kabul residents 24 hours a day. As soon as we are informed of an accident in a part of the town, the person in charge gets the house location and place of accident, records the information and within a short time an emergency unit gets to the site of the accident, gives emergency treatment and transfers the patient to the nearest hospital.

5854

CSO: 4665/34

2 April 1985

AFGHANISTAN

ATTEMPTS CONTINUE FOR FAIR DISTRIBUTION OF WATER

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 22 Feb 85 pp 1-2.

[Text] Water like the land, was under the monopoly of feudal and pre-feudal elite prior to the April Revolution. On that time, water belonged to the land, therefore, the holders of agricultural land were naturally the owners of water resources as well.

In order to legalize the feudal ownership on water resources, certain laws and regulations which reflected the interests and demands of exploiting class were enforced in the society.

For putting into effect these laws and regulations in the interests of feudal landlords, local offices and organisations were also established and were assigned to manage and regulate the use of water resources.

Peasants were compelled to do compulsory work in establishing traditional irrigation resource.

Water of rivers, wells, canals, springs, streams and others constitute the resource of irrigation and they continue to be the most basic irrigational resource in our country.

Between 1951-1961 the country witnessed the introduction of a series of socio-economic transformations, construction of a number of irrigational projects based on the new and modern methods and systems. They were schemed and included in the "socio-economic development plans." A number of these projects, which were mainly built with the financial, technical and professional assistance and cooperation of the friendly and fraternal country, Soviet Union have yielded good fruit, e.g. the Nangarhar Valley Development Project. However, a number of others which were built by imperialist countries particularly the United States of America, despite the colossal expenditures remained fruitless. As an example the Helmand Valley Development Project can be mentioned.

The number of such projects, which are mostly consisted of small dams and irrigational systems, reaches 19.

These projects could irrigate an area of about 960,000 hectares of land. The total amount of cultivable land of the country is eight million hectares

of which 2.6 million hectares of land enjoys the partial water resource irrigation and 1.5-1.6 million hectares of land has sufficient water resources. The main reason of such situation is the lack of appropriate irrigational networks and systems.

Thus both types of irrigational resources, i.e., the old and new ones, are still in force for the irrigation of agricultural land of the country. The biggest portion of agricultural land is however, irrigated by the old irrigational systems.

After the victory of the April Revolution, the new revolutionary state has paid profound and comprehensive attention, based on scientific foundations.

First of all, the water resources and agricultural land have been released from the domination of feudals and were put at the disposal of peasants.

To ensure the legitimate rights of peasants to water resources, and regular and proper distribution of water and agricultural land, a Law on Water and Regulation on the Use of Water in Agriculture were enforced after the new and evolutionary phase of the revolution. It is stated in the Law on Water that "Water is the public wealth of all peoples and is protected by the state. Use of water is free, although irrigational systems (sub-terranean canals, wells and others) are private properties.

In a general formalisation the Programme of Action of the PDPA as regard with the irrigational establishments and betterment of irrigational affairs, envisages a perspective... State will adopt effective measures...for establishing irrigational systems..." and "the adoption of long-term programmes for making ready and for irrigation new land and betterment of irrigational and development of land, which are under currently under irrigation", are the main objectives and tasks in this sphere.

Thus, the betterment of irrigation of agricultural land, which is under irrigation now, the irrigation of new lands and establishment of new irrigational systems are issues, which constitute the main theme of programmes of irrigational affairs in the country.

In order to practically, and effectively implement plans and programmes in the field of irrigation. The Ministry of Irrigation and Water Resources and institutions for water regulation in provinces were created by the DRA state in order to provide sufficient water for agricultural land and for assisting peasants in this regard.

To help the democratisation of rural life of the country and the direct participation of peasants in solving water problems, peasantry committees for distribution of water were formed beside other peasantry organisations.

For better distribution of water and solution of disputes emanating from the water distribution with the direct participation of peasants, the process of election and appointment of water foremen is continuing.

Now these water foremen are elected by the peasants in accordance with the new relations, created as a result of the revolution and the new democratic principles and norms. (Prior to April Revolution they were appointed by feudals.) Hence, they are at the service of peasantry masses.

Completion of the construction of turn-over projects, betterment of land reforms on irrigational systems, implementation of the Law on Water and the Regulation on the Use of Water in Agriculture and fixing the quota of peasants by the Institutions for Water Regulation, prevention of wasting water in traditional irrigational systems, correcting repair and reconstruction of main irrigational establishments, organising and ensuring the active participation of peasants in reactivating and cleaning irrigational establishments and supply of water from the plans, and measures of the state.

Extensive activities for survey and for study of water resources, designation and preparation of irrigational schemes, collection of data and hydrological statistics to be used in the survey and construction of projects, digging of deep wells, research and utilization of water reforms are the fruitful and exceptionally significant activities, which have been carried out and are being carried in the field of irrigation.

It should be stated that in the field of irrigation too, the friendly Soviet Union has rendered useful and fruitful assistance to our people. As an example, the conclusion of a contract on digging of 45 deep wells and 115 ordinary wells for irrigation of 1.8 million hectares of land can be cited.

Hence for solving the water problem, successes have been achieved in eradication of feudal relations for democratic water distribution to peasants and in implementing the concerned laws and regulations. These achievements and successes are getting expansion in the country day by day.

CSO: 4600/337

AFGHANISTAN

SEVERAL THOUSAND FARMERS JOIN BALKH COOPERATIVES

Kabul DEHQAN in Dari 24 Jan 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] The provincial council of the union of peasant cooperatives of Balkh Province was set up in 1361 [21 March 1982-20 March 1983] in order to organize and mobilize farmers and other toilers, to help the growth of the cooperative movement in the country, to provide products needed by fellow-citizens and to control prices. It has so far succeeded in forming 9 consumer cooperatives in the area of Balkh district, district of Nahr-E Shahi, subdistrict of Dehdari and the cities of Mazar-e Sharif and Heyratan, with a membership of 4,200 consisting of toiler such as workers, peasants and others whose share of the capital invested was provided by a loan from the central council of the union of cooperatives of 1,441,450 afghani.

In the current year which began 21 March 1984, products to the value of 2.5 million afghani were purchased by cooperatives and placed at the disposal of members at 10 percent below market rates.

A source at the peasants' cooperative union of Balkh Province said: Even though cooperatives sell needed products below market rates, as a factor strengthening the role of cooperatives a net amount of 700,000 has been earned during the same period.

The peasants' union set up 13 literacy classes in which 411 students are being taught by 13 honorable teachers.

The source added: In order to strengthen the hand of the government in various localities by mobilizing membership of cooperatives according to plenums of the Central Committee, the union has been able, up to now, to have 473 of its members join "Defenders of the Revolution" group, 71 others the ranks of the revolution corps and 54 individuals in the self-defense group, all of them defending the benefits of the revolution with arms.

The source said: The membership of the cooperatives of this union includes 958 members of the PDPA, 42 others in the Organization of Democratic Youth and 1,232 in the National Fatherland Front.

The source added: The union has also opened 2 farm-products shops and a butcher shop in Mazar-e Sharif where farmers' surpluses are put at the disposal of cooperative members and Mazar-e Sharif residents below market prices.

Also in honor of the 20th founding anniversary of the PDPA, the peasants' union of Balkh Province opened a consumer cooperative in the village of Sar Asiyab, with the participation of 200 and a capital comprising 1,000 afghani per share, naming it "Unity". Another consumer cooperative has been opened in the first party district and goes by the name of "Peace Cooperative No 2".

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CSO: 4665/37

AFGHANISTAN

LAND, IRRIGATION REFORMS UNDER WAY IN BALKH

Kabul DEHQAN in Dari 28 Jan 85 pp 1, 5

[Text] The DEHQAN correspondent sent to Balkh Province interviewed the land and water reform director general of the province regarding the work done in the second stage of the reforms. Herewith the interview:

The work of implementing the second phase of the democratic and fair land and water reforms in Balkh Province got under way in 1982 and by 1 January 1985 had been successfully carried out in the villages of Koshkah, Tukhtah, Khaseh Paz, Posht-e Bagh, Gurimar, Qal'eh-ye Ghal Mohammad, Feyzabad, Af Malek, Mir Qasem Deh Qazi, Hezareh, Zingargan and Dehdari. From the beginning of the work until 1 January 1985, a total of 5,160,240 jarib of land, the equivalent of 31,145.51 jarib of first grade farmland were distributed to 4,600 farmers in the above mentioned villages and 1,165 jaribs were given to 167 landless peasants free of charge in the villages of Koshkak, Tukhteh, Khaseh Paz, Posht-e-Bagh, Balkh district, Dehdari subdistrict and Nahr-e Shahi district, thus giving 4,727 peasants their official land deeds and having the water rights of 4,276 peasants recorded in their documents.

The director general of land and water reform of Balkh province then spoke about the activities of his agency during 1363 [21 March 1984-20 March 1985]: During this period 24,863.79 jarib of land, the equivalent of 16,273.49 jarib of first grade cultivable land, was distributed among 2,135 peasant families by 1 January 1985 and 1,097 jarib of land was given free of cost to 155 landless peasants. As a result of interest taken by the party and government for the up-grading of living conditions of peasants, 1,242.79 acres of surplus land which previously had been sold to peasants was given free of charge to farmers according to Decree No 8 of the Revolutionary Council. During the 10 months of the year ending 20 January 1985, land ownership deeds were given to 2,297 farmers while the water rights of 1,834 peasants have been registered by the Irrigation Office of the province. In order to resolve land and water problems, peasant councils have been set up in 21 village areas in the current year with the participation of 177 who have been chosen and elected by peasants themselves. In honor of the 20th founding anniversary of the PDPA, the personnel of the land and water reform operational groups have been able through basic efforts to give land to 12 landless peasants in the village of Tukhteh and land to 72 landless families in the village of Tukhteh and land to 72 landless families in the village of Koshkak within a short period of time.

AFGHANISTAN

CHARITY FUND CREATED TO ASSIST CITIZENS

Kabul ANIS in Dari 29 Jan 85 p 1

[Text] The residential councils of the national Fatherland Front which have been formed or will be formed in the future according to the benevolent goals and popular programs of the Central Council of the National Fatherland Front of the DRA and according to the wishes and active cooperation of the toiling people of our country, serve the people and the revolution in worthy and valuable fashion. The residential council of Char Qal'eh of Vazirabad, which enjoys the unstinting active cooperation of the noble people of the area, has been able to provide useful services and activities for the people of its jurisdiction.

Head of the Char Qal'eh of Vazirabad residential council said: This council was formed in April of last year within the framework of the 10th area council of Kabul's National Fatherland Front and since then has carried out 5 voluntary jobs of repair and cleaning. As a result of the efforts of the Char Qal'eh residential council of Vazirabad a district charity fund group has been set up whose members, in addition to those from the National Fatherland Front, include 70,000 other citizens. Members of the fund pay in 20 afghani a month to the fund which is run by a treasurer and 10 supervisors. The fund which is to help people when needed, up to now has helped 2 citizens toward their expenses in burying relatives.

He added: The regional residential council has opened a literacy class in Gozar-e Yekna Khel in which 21 tradesmen and other toilers are learning to read and write. Teaching is done by a volunteer teacher.

Also during the current year, the council referred 56 patriotic young men to the "Defenders of the Revolution" group. They are now defending the peoples' peace 24 hours a day. It should be said that responsible officials and members of the executive board of the Char Qal'eh residential council, because of the mission and duty incumbent upon them in explaining the high and humane goals of the National Fatherland Front, go to mosques in Vazirabad on Fridays and carry out propaganda activities.

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CSO: 4665/37

AFGHANISTAN

BRIEFS

KINDERGARTENS CREATED--Kabul (BIA)--Over one hundred kindergartens have been established in Afghanistan since the triumph of the April Revolution (1978). Only twelve kindergartens existed in the country, prior to revolution and were only in the service of the children of the royal family, feudals and high-ranking state officials. Little attention was paid to mental and moral development of the children in those days. However, after the revolution, the scope of activities of kindergartens underwent a tremendous qualitative and quantitative changes. Right now over 50 kindergartens are functioning in government departments, state enterprises and factories. Workers and officials of concerned factories, enterprises, institutes and government departments are enjoying full rights in these kindergartens. Nowadays, kindergartens and nurseries have become public welfare projects in the country and any Afghan family can make use of them regardless of their social status. [Text] [Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 24 Feb 85 pp 2, 4]

LIGHT INDUSTRIES, FOODSTUFF UP--Kabul (BIA)--Light industrial products and foodstuff at a value of over 5 billion Afghanis (Afs 50 equal to one US dollar) have been produced by the Ministry of Light Industries and Foodstuff of the DRA during the nine months of the current Afghan year (begun March 20, 1984). This was stated by Engineer Mohammad Aziz, Minister of Light Industries and Foodstuff, in an interview with daily Heywad correspondent. He added that the ministry has fulfilled 90 percent of its annual plan and showed over 130 percent increase in its production as compared with the same period over the last year. Similarly, the production of ginned cotton has grown by 128 percent in the said period as compared with the same period of last year. Engineer Mohammad Aziz pointed out that the plan target in the production of foodstuff was fulfilled by 98 percent in that period. The production of foodstuff reached over 111 thousand tons in the same period which shows 110 percent growth. The enterprise of fruit process in Kandahar province produced 208 tons conserved fruit in the nine months which is higher by eight times as compared with the same period last year. [Text] [Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 25 Feb 85 p 1]

HERAT MEDICAL SERVICES--In the first 6 months of the current year 1363 [21 March 1984-22 September 1984] 87,000 people have benefited from medical services in Herat province. This figure includes 68,000 treated by the Ministry of Public Health 5,008 treated in the malaria and leishmania [sand fly fever] division and 1,900 who referred to the Red Crescent health center. These patients have received check-ups and treatment in various surgical units, internal medicine, ear and throat, women and birth sections, eye disease section and so on. Also, 2,572 patients were hospitalized and 123 persons were vaccinated against B.C.G, D.P.T [sic], measles, diphtheria and polio. A source at the Herat Public Health Office said: The revenue of this office during the first 6 months of the current year 1363 from laboratory and blood tests and X-rays amounted to 399,668 afghani. The source added: The health service personnel of Herat province are ever at the service of the noble people of the province and do not spare any cooperation and help toward the working people of Herat province. [Text] [Kabul HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR in Dari 30 Jan 85 p 4] 5854

CSO: 4665/34

BANGLADESH

REPORT ON SAUDI PAPER'S INTERVIEW WITH ERSHAD

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 26 Feb 85 pp 1, 10

[Text] Jeddah, Feb 25--A Summit Conference of seven South-Asian countries will be held in Dhaka in the last quarter of the current year, Bangladesh President and Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt Gen Hussein Mohammed Ershad has said, reports IINA.

The seven--Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan and the Maldives--are members of the South Asian Regional Cooperation (SARC) forum.

President Ershad was interviewed by Jeddah Daily Okaz. The interview was published here today.

Speaking about his country's relations with India, Gen Ershad said there were still problems but he hoped that bilateral questions would be resolved through negotiations. He said Bangladesh was trying to consolidate ties of friendship with the 'big' neighbouring country and mentioned in this connection the existing joint commission to enhance bilateral economic cooperation.

General Ershad said he had fruitful discussions in New Delhi with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi during the funeral of the late Mrs Indira Gandhi. He recalled Rajiv's assurances in his first speech that India was committed to regional cooperation in South Asia.

President Ershad also said Bangladesh has excellent relations with Saudi Arabia rooted in faith and history and said the kingdom as protector of the two Holy Harams "is highly esteemed and respected by the Bangladesh people."

He said he was looking forward to receiving King Fahd who had accepted an invitation to visit Bangladesh.

General Ershad noted King Fahd's concern for the welfare of the Bangladeshi people and the 'generous economic assistance' which the kingdom has been extending to the development plans in the country. An industrial and agricultural investment company had been recently established by the two countries and cooperation between private sectors was expected to increase, President Ershad added.

He said 80,000 Bangladeshis were currently working in Saudi Arabia.

The viewpoints of the two countries were identical on all major Islamic, regional and international issues, the President said, reaffirming Bangladesh's firm support to the Arab rights, particularly the Palestinian cause.

About his country's economy, the President said it was on a healthy course. Despite the heavy damage to agriculture by devastating floods, the Government was able to contain inflation. He expected that the economy would grow satisfactorily.

President Ershad said his invitation to host the Islamic Peace Committee meeting on the Iran-Iraq War in Dhaka was open. He said as a member of the nine-member panel Bangladesh had exerted efforts to end the war.

CSO: 4600/1388

BANGLADESH

EEC REPORTED TO BE BIGGEST BUYER FROM BANGLADESH

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 25 Feb 85 pp 1, 10

[Text] The countries of the European Economic Community (EEC) region were the highest buyers of the Bangladesh products. Other buyer regions in order of the total value of goods were Asian region (excluding the Middle East), the Middle East, American region, African region, East European region and Oceania. Of the total exports from Bangladesh during 1983-84 amounting to Tk 1,990 crore, exports to the countries of EEC region stood at Tk 491 crore. This is 24.68 percent of the total exports of the countries.

The second largest buyer of the Bangladesh goods region-wise during 1983-84 were the countries of the Asian region (excluding the Middle East). The total exports from Bangladesh to this region during the last financial year were valued at Tk 477 crore accounting for about 24 percent of the total exports of the country.

The countries of the Middle East including Iran were the third biggest buyer of the Bangladesh goods during 1983-84. Commodities valued at Tk 318 crore were exported to this region, constituting 16 percent of the country's total exports.

The countries of the American region were the fourth largest buyers of the Bangladesh products during the period under review. Goods worth Tk 312 crore were exported to this region covering about 16 percent of the total exports.

African countries were the fifth largest buyers of the Bangladesh goods during 1983-84 with an off-take of goods worth Tk 171 crore constituting about eight percent of total exports.

The sixth largest importers of the Bangladesh products regionwise during the fiscal year 1983-84 were the countries of East Europe including the USSR. Total exports to this region during the year under review stood at Tk 109 crore which accounted for about 5.47 percent of the exports of Bangladesh.

CSO: 4600/1387

BANGLADESH

COMMUNIST PARTY HOLDS DHAKA MEETING 18 FEB

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 18 Feb 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB) called upon the Government to implement the national five-point demand and to withdraw Martial Law. This was stated by the speakers at the public meeting held at Baitul Mukarram square on Sunday afternoon.

Presided over by Mr Mohammad Farhad, General Secretary of CPB, the meeting was addressed among others by Messrs Abdus Salam, Manjurul Ahsan Khan, Barun Roy, Mujahedul Islam Selim and Shamsuddoha.

In his speech, Mr Abdus Salam said that the Government had pursued a policy through which people are being oppressed and exploited. He said that Martial Law was promulgated with the support of the U.S. imperialism to protect the interest of the capitalists.

Mr Salam observed that Independence had been achieved at the cost of three million people. But the fruits of independence could not reach the masses yet he said.

In his speech, Mr Mujahedul Islam Selim said that the freedom was achieved after sacrificing much blood. The independence is now at stake. He asserted that the people had no freedom of speech under Martial Law and politics of killing has been prevailing in the country since 1975.

Mr Selim said that 86 percent of our total population live below poverty level while the number of landless is 60 percent, he added. Mr Selim opined that our aims will be achieved only when the workers peasants' rule is established in the country.

Mr Manjurul Ahsan said that country is now passing through the erosion of social values. Killings, loot and other anti-social activities have been increased in the country, he remarked.

In his speech, Mr Saifuddin Manik said that the masses are now united to fight for the withdrawal of Martial Law. The rule of oppression is now prevailing in the country and our womenfolk and workers are being subjected to harassment and humiliation.

He said that Taka 250 crore were spent for the construction of office buildings in upazilas. He demanded immediate release of all political detenues including labour leader Baleyet Hossain.

In his speech, Mr Farhad paid rich tributes to the memories of all the shaheeds from 1952 to till today. He said that 15-party and seven-party alliances had been fighting to realise the five-point demand for the last 17 months.

He remarked that the Armed Forces should remain neutral. Mr Farhad demanded free and fair elections.

After the meeting a procession was brought out which ended at the Central Shaheed Minar.

CSO: 4600/1384

BANGLADESH

MONETARY EXPANSION SAID TO EXCEED SAFE LIMITS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 17 Feb 85 p 1

[Text] Another phase of large monetary expansion far exceeding the 'safe limits' of the Planning Commission has now emerged as the most disquieting feature of the economy during the current Second Five-Year Plan (1980-85) which terminates in June next.

Planning Commission estimated in May 1983 that money supply (currency in circulation plus demand deposits) would rise from Taka 1699 crore in 1979-80 to Taka 3313 crore in 1984-85 and liquidity (which includes money supply and time deposits) would expand from Taka 3431 crore in 1979-80 to Taka 6,517 crore in 1984-85.

But the monetary growth till January 1985 had already gone far beyond the planners' estimated level. Money supply stood at over Taka 4200 crore and liquidity at about Taka 10,000 crore in January 1985. Thus monetary expansion exceeded the planners' estimate by over 26 percent and liquidity growth by over 53 percent at a time when there were five more months yet to be over for the second plan to reach its terminal point.

And what has particularly been the cause for serious concern is that such phenomenal expansion in growth of money supply and liquidity had taken place in the face of a faltering growth performance of the economy. The planning commission projected its estimates about monetary and liquidity growth within 'safe limits' on the basis of an average annual growth rate of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) at 5.4 percent during Second Five Year Plan (SFYP) period. As against this, actual GDP growth rate as the latest official estimate indicated would not be more than 4.5 percent per annum. There has neither been much of any commendable improvement in the availability of agricultural surpluses in the markets beyond what was envisaged earlier by the planners. This suggests that rate of monetisation of the subsistence sector of the economy was in no way faster than what was projected while the Planning Commission estimated the 'safe limits' for monetary growth during the plan period.

The sharp expansionary trend in overall monetary growth situation during the SFYP period has thus tended to defeat the major goal of price stability which is one of the basic conditions of planned development. The country

experienced a phenomenal monetary expansion in the seventies as well and that growth according to the planning commission, was one of the most unsettling features of the last decade. Narrow money, to recall here, more than doubled from Taka 696 crore in June 1973 to Taka 1698 crore in June 1980. This gave an annual increase of 13.6 percent against a real growth of GDP of 5.8 percent over the same period. But the monetary growth during SFYP period has now clearly emerged as a more distressing and disturbing phenomenon in view of the fact that the GDP growth rate, compared to the performance during 1973-80, would be on a lower level during the current mid-term plan period.

Meanwhile the latest available statistics of Bangladesh Bank showed that overall money supply registered a net increase by Taka 544 crore during the first seven months of the current financial year (1984-85) notwithstanding a marginal declining trend in such growth in January 1985 following the enforcement of selective credit squeeze operations since the middle of the fiscal 1985.

Of the components of money supply, currency outside banks went up by 11.55 percent and demand deposits by 18.06 percent on January 10, '85 over the related levels on June 30, '84.

An analysis of the causative factors in the change of money supply during the first seven months of the fiscal 1985 showed that the monetary expansion was mainly brought about by an increase in credit to the private sector (a net growth of over Taka 1100 crore) and also growth in credits to and investments in public sector (a net increase of Taka 450 crore). The accruals of about Taka 900 crore in time deposits, the net decline by Taka 90 crore in the country's international account and also the surplus of about Taka 20 crore in government's fiscal operation neutralised partly the expansionary influences, leading to a net monetary growth of Taka 544 crore during the first seven months of the current financial year.

CSO: 4600/1385

BANGLADESH

EXPORT EARNINGS INCREASE IN FIRST HALF OF FISCAL YEAR

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 24 Feb 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] Export earnings of the country in the first seven months of the current financial year (July-January) amounted to Tk 1451.11 crore as against Tk 1168.74 crore during July 83-January 84 showing an increase of Tk 282.37 crore, i.e. 24.16 percent, reports BSS.

In terms of dollar the earnings amounted to US 571.75 million dollars as against 480.57 million dollars in July '83, January '84 showing an increase of 91.18 million dollars, i.e. 18.97 percent.

Among the principal items, there has been an increase in the export earnings during the period under review, in respect of raw jute (43.55 percent), jute goods (26.14 percent), frozen food (8.84 percent) readymade garments (296.77 percent) and chemical products (5.51 percent) over the corresponding period of last year.

In the traditional and non-traditional sectors export earnings, in terms of dollar, increased by 2.01 percent and 16.77 percent respectively, during July '84-January '85 as compared to the corresponding period of the previous year.

The average export target for the first seven months under review was Tk 1305.50 crore. As against this average target, the actual export earning stood at Tk 1451.11 crore (64.84 percent of the annual target). Thus the pro rata target for first seven months has been exceeded by Tk 145.61 crore, i.e. 11.15 percent.

CSO: 4600/1386

BANGLADESH

DHANA HUMAN RIGHTS SEMINAR DISCUSSES MARTIAL LAW

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 17 Feb 85 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Human rights and rule of law are inseparable from development which is the paramount objective of all developing countries.

This was observed at a seminar in the city yesterday where it was proposed that all freedom loving peoples of the world should consider outlawing the concept of Martial Law from the political vocabulary.

Mr Paul Sieghart, member, executive committee of the International Commission of Jurists, spoke as the chief guest at the seminar on 'rule of law and human rights' while Barrister Mainul Hossain, Chairman of the Editorial Boards of the New Nation and Ittefaq, Khandkar Mahbubuddin Ahmed, President of Bangladesh National Bar Association and Mr Hisashi Uno, Director of United Nations Information Centre took part.

Presided over by former Supreme Court Judge Justice Abdur Rahman Chowdhury, chief of the Institute of Human Rights and Legal Affairs which organised the seminar at a local hotel, it was attended by eminent lawyers, university teachers and diplomats.

Mr Sieghart observed that development must be a paramount objective for all developing countries and development strategies must be a paramount concern for all governments of developing states.

But, he said, it was also

witnessed in some places in the world that the ideal of development was being used as a pretext for gross and consistent patterns of violations of human rights.

Elaborating the relationship between development and human rights Mr Sieghart said development should be seen as a global concept including, with equal emphasis, civil and political rights and also economic, social and cultural rights. It should be understood as a process designed progressively to create conditions in which every person can enjoy, exercise and utilise under the rule of law all his human rights. The right to development can be expressed as the right of every person to participate in and benefit from development in the sense of a progressive improvement in the standard and quality of life.

Thus development requires a recognition that human rights are inseparable and that development is inseparable from human rights and the rule of law. Likewise, justice and equity at the international level are inseparable from justice and equity at the national level, he added.

On rule of law Mr Sieghart said independence of the judiciary is one of the fundamental conditions for it. It will be in peril without courts presided over by impartial and independent judges.

Mr Sieghart who is also

Chairman of the British section of International Commission of Jurists stressed that individuals should be conscious of their rights. Even the most excellent laws enshrined in statute or case law are of no practical use if vast numbers of people do not know them.

Replying to a query Mr Seighart said, non-governmental institutions like the International Commission of Jurists can exercise their influence in many ways to put pressure on oppressive governments through the international aid networks. In fact, the Commission has already begun the process in some countries, he said.

In his presidential address Justice Chowdhury said time has come for all freedom-loving peoples of the world to seriously consider outlawing the very concept of martial law from the political vocabulary. It is antithesis of all that is legal, constitutional, moral and ethical.

He regretted that nearly two-thirds of the people in underdeveloped countries are denied the basic human rights by the totalitarian regimes. Yet some of the democratic leaders of the world professing themselves to be the champions of human rights go on hobnobbing with those totalitarian regimes, he said.

He called for an effective machinery of the United Nations to implement its resolutions to redress the grievances of the oppressed peoples of the world.

He said every government is required to submit reports on the human rights condition to the UN body. Such reports should be scrutinised by a committee within the country before submission.

Barrister Mainul Hosein who spoke on the role of the Press in upholding Rule of Law and human rights said the Press must act as protector of the individual's freedoms, otherwise it will forfeit its own existence

as a free press.

"What is no less true is that a society that cannot save freedom for its press is enslaved in no time," he remarked.

He said one will deceive oneself and others if he gives the impression of believing that under a government of absolute powers like martial law there can be press freedom as a right.

Referring to the government claim that it has restored 'a few' fundamental rights Barrister Hosein said it can at best be taken as a fresh assertion of the realities under martial law. None of the political rights, not to speak of the constitutional provision on press freedom, has been restored. It has not got rid of the stringent martial law regulations against the press. Simple truth is that freedom and free institutions are not compatible with martial law or any other authoritarian government.

He observed that an uninformed government was bound to prove hazardous even for itself. Where in the name of law people are forced to suffer wrongs in silence, conditions are also created there for chaos and social upheavals, he added.

Barrister Hosein told the seminar that none should be heard to say that newspaper men did not find time for serious thought about the role of the press. The men of the press cannot be politically neutral as press is a highly political institution. It is no surprise that men of the press all over the world are found in the forefront of the struggle for human rights and democratic ideals.

Speaking on 'lawyers rule of law and human rights Khondker Mahbubuddin Ahmed said they stood for immediate restoration of democracy so that the constitution comes back in force, rule of law prevails in the country, and judges are independent.

He told the fellow lawyers to be agile and active to preserve and protect the rights. The government adherence to the United

Nations Declaration on Human Right is meaningless if they do not know their rights and protected and sustained those through the process of rule of law.

Dwelling on arms race, hunger and poverty, illiteracy, refugee problem around the globe Mr Hisashi Uno posed a question where justice has gone.

He felt that non-government organisations like International Commission of Jurists can play an important role in creating public awareness in mobilising opinion. United Nations and the community of non-government organisations can go hand in hand in this endeavour, he added.

Dr Zillur Rahman Siddiqui, Vice President of the Institute of Human Rights and Legal Affairs welcomed the participants while Mr Abdul Malek, General Secretary of the Institute, gave the vote of thanks.

CSO: 4600/1383

BANGLADESH

LAW AMENDED TO REGULATE CAMPAIGN EXPENSES

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 13 Feb 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Government has promulgated an ordinance amending the People's Representation Order, 1972 providing for election expenses by the contesting candidates in National Assembly elections, the Election Commission said in Dhaka yesterday, reports BSS.

The Election Commission in a Press release said the Ordinance provided that the personal expenditure of a contesting candidate should not exceed Taka two thousand and the election expenses excluding personal expenditure should not exceed Taka one lakh. No person other than the election agent of a contesting candidate shall incur any election expenditure of such candidate. But contesting candidate himself by incurring a personal expenditure in connection with his election, in case the contesting candidate is also his own election agent, he may himself incur the election expenses.

Every election agent of a contesting candidate shall, within 35 days after the publication of the name returned candidates in the official gazette by the Election Commission, submit a return of election expenses to the Returning Officer in the prescribed form containing:

- A. A statement of all payments made by him together with all the bills and receipts.
- B. A statement of the amount of personal expenditure, if an incurred by the contesting candidate.
- C. A statement of all disputed claims of which the election agent is aware.
- D. A statement of all disputed claims, if any, of which the election agent is aware, and
- E. A statement of all money, securities or equivalent of money received from any person for the purpose of election expenses specifying the name of every such person.

A return submitted shall be accompanied with an affidavit sworn severally by the contesting candidate and his election agent or, where a contesting candidate is his own election agent, only by such candidate.

Violation of this law is punishable and liable for setting aside the election by the tribunal.

CSO: 4600/1381

BANGLADESH

CUT IN ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK ASSISTANCE EXPECTED

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 15 Feb 85 p 3

[Article by Hassan Abul Quashem]

[Text] A substantial cut in the present level of assistance of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) is expected to be announced shortly for the current calendar year (1985), because of Bangladesh's failure to properly utilise its fund provided under different credit arrangements with the development financial institutions.

The Asian Development Bank had recently expressed its concern for unusual delay in implementing various development projects especially industrial projects and for underutilisation of funds. The ADB earlier indicated that its aid commitment would not be maintained at the present level if Bangladesh fails to make substantial improvement in the aid utilisation process.

In view of this situation, Bangladesh may seek around 200 million US dollar assistance from ADB on the basis of the list of submitted projects for the year 1985, which is much below the level of last year. The ADB assistance increased every year since 1979 from the level of 115.1 million dollars to 306.8 million dollars for the year 1984.

The ADB, which provides concessional loan to the developing member countries through Asian Development Finance (ADF), a concessional window of ADB, is also facing resource scarcity as the rich members are pruning their contribution.

Kazi Fazlur Rahman, Alternative Executive Director of ADB, in a recent letter apprised the government of the poor prospect of ADB fund.

Bangladesh, which borrows exclusively from ADB's soft loan window, is the highest recipient of ADB assistance over the last several years. Bangladesh received 40 percent of the total ADF resources.

The developing member countries of the ADB are now competing with each other for the limited ADB resources. Bangladesh will be required to submit a list of viable projects before the ADB for being entitled to receive present level of assistance from the bank.

A country programming mission of the ADB is currently visiting Dhaka for determining the lending programme of the bank during 1985 and also to establish an indicative pipeline for the next three years funding programme in Bangladesh.

The mission will discuss with government officials the possible financing of some of the projects of different DFI's. This will in effect determine the level of the ADF finance for Bangladesh.

The mission earlier asked Bangladesh government to merge Bangladesh Shilpa Rin Sangstha (BSRS) and Investment Advisory Centre of the Bangladesh and to empower Bangladesh Shilpa Bank to grant long term assistance to the industrial sector. The suggestion was made in line with the recommendations of the team of the ADB's portfolio audit which examined term-lending of the DFI's. The ADB delegation will hold talks with government officials on the implementation of the recommendations of the report.

Meanwhile, the DFI's have been facing difficulty in utilising credits due to elaborate post-sanction formalities and ADB criterion for 25 percent equity participation. The private entrepreneurs are either not in a position to mobilise the required equity amount nor are they willing to mobilise their sum to utilise ADB fund. The low equity base of the sponsors, lack of equity support from the ICB, frequent shift of government policy in determining national priority are identified as the main reasons behind the failure of the DFI's in utilising the fund.

CSO: 4600/1382

BANGLADESH

REPORTAGE ON GANGES WATER SHARING ISSUE

Stand at Kathmandu

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 17 Feb 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] Bangladesh stand for equitable share of waters of the international rivers received overwhelming support at the 24th session of the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee held at Kathmandu on February 13.

This was stated by the Law and Parliamentary Affairs Secretary, Mr Justice Abdul Quddus who led the Bangladesh delegation to the session.

Mr Justice Quddus told BSS that Bangladesh had strongly pleaded that the upper riparian countries had no right to unilaterally appropriate the waters of international rivers depriving the lower riparian countries of their due share.

The 24th session which was attended by 28 member countries and 16 observers from non member countries, different agencies of the United Nations, Arab League, Commonwealth Secretary and World Bank decided to further study the issue of international rivers, Mr Justice Quddus said.

He said that the issue of the sharing of waters of international rivers was brought back at the agenda of consultative committee after 12 years at the initiative of Bangladesh.

He said at the New Delhi session held in 1973 it had been decided to postpone further work on this subject in view of the fact that the topic had been included in the programme of work of the International Law Commission. Bangladesh urged the commission to expedite the matter, he added.

The other important issue discussed in the session were right of transit for the landlocked countries, delimitation of the exclusive economic zone continental shelf, and status and treatment of refugees, concept of peace zone in international law, economic, scientific and technical cooperation in the use of Indian Ocean, mutual cooperation on judicial assistance and rule of international court of justice.

Foreign Office Spokesman

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 21 Feb 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] A Foreign Ministry spokesman yesterday described the unilateral diversion of the Ganges water by India as "contrary to" the recognised principles and practices of international law.

When his attention was drawn to a news item published in a Dhaka daily, the spokesman said the flow of waters in the common river Ganges was "much less" than the actual requirement of Bangladesh this year.

The spokesman expressed the urgent need for "a fresh agreement" on sharing the Ganges waters between Bangladesh and India in absence of any agreement after the expiry of the memorandum of understanding for 18 months early last year.

It may be mentioned here that the two neighbouring countries had signed the memorandum in October 1982 during the first official visit of President General Ershad to Delhi on sharing the Ganges waters for two lean periods.

The two countries failed to reach any understanding or agreement in last two years because of intransigent attitude of India. The Indo-Bangladesh Joint Rivers Commission had futile exercise on the issue and referred back to their respective governments for finding the political solution to the long standing problem.

According to official circle, India also remained silent on a long term and permanent sharing of the Ganges water as was proposed by Bangladesh since the expiry of the memorandum of understanding.

Negotiations Reviewed

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 25 Feb 85 p 5

[Article by Jehangir Hussain]

[Text] It is over a month and a half since India started unilaterally diverting the Ganges waters through Farakka barrage on January 1. By obstructing solution of old problems and by creating fresh ones over the years India has reflected in its attitude toward Bangladesh a very clear pattern.

India's unilateral action with the Ganges waters, its putting up of the barbed wire fences around Bangladesh, harassment of the Bangladesh citizens in the Dahagram and Angarpota enclaves at intervals and its unwillingness to honour and implement the land boundary agreement signed by the two countries as early as 1974--are some of the instances which clearly reflect the pattern.

India's unilateral action on the Ganges suits its undeclared intentions to do as it pleases with the waters of not only the Ganges but also other common rivers.

The last Ganges waters sharing arrangement expired on May 31, 1984 and there is no agreement at the moment to permit India to divert the Ganges waters during the current dry season which began on January 1 and ends on May 31.

So the Indian action is nothing but an illegal interference with the flows of the international river and a gross violation of the conventions and laws on international river flows and all norms of good neighbourliness.

It also reflects the unique and peculiar Indian psychology under which India expects all its neighbours to be nice while retaining with itself the right to harm them.

During the entire 1984, India only ignored the requests of Bangladesh Government to make a fresh Ganges waters sharing agreement. The matter simply does not end there and it has far greater significance and consequences.

There has been no official word so far from the Government explaining the situation to the people and how it plans to face the situation to protect the country's interests.

Over one third area of Bangladesh depends on the Ganges flows for meeting irrigation, navigation and other requirements including maintenance of the ecological balance during the dry season. Bangladesh has therefore very vital interests in the Ganges waters.

India is going ahead with implementation of diversion projects on almost all the other common rivers. So the signs are pretty ominous. If Bangladesh has to give up its rights on the Ganges the same would happen to other common rivers. That would mean there would be no water in the rivers during the dry season although the irrigation requirements for the season are going up to meet the growing foodgrains needs.

Despite the 1974 land boundary agreement India is yet to transfer the Tin Bigha corridor linking Dahagram and Angarpota enclaves with the mainland Bangladesh. The Bangladesh citizens there are harassed by India at regular intervals. But Bangladesh honoured the 1974 agreement and Berubari was immediately transferred to India.

These are only a few of the Indian variety of friendly gestures.

India violated the joint declaration signed by the Prime Ministers of the two countries in 1974 by commissioning the Farakka Barrage though it (India) had bound itself by the commitment under the declaration not to commission the barrage until a mutually satisfactory Ganges sharing solution was found.

In April 1975 the 41-day agreement allowed India to only test run the Farakka Barrage but India showed thumbs to Bangladesh and commissioned the barrage. A permanent and mutually acceptable solution being consistently opposed by India remains elusive.

In 1976 India resorted to its first unilateral diversion of the Ganges waters. But at the time Bangladesh lodged strong protests with India and took the dispute to the United Nations. This led to the signing of the five-year term agreement for sharing the Ganges waters which expired on May 31, 1982.

India has been using the augmentation question as leverage to stall a solution to the Ganges problem.

If there is any shortage in the dry season flow of the Ganges it is very much an Indian creation because of its numerous diversions of the river's waters.

The Indian approach to augmentation is to pass the responsibility on to the shoulders of Bangladesh and also use it as a device to stall a permanent sharing solution.

India has indeed been successful in incorporating the augmentation question as early as 1974.

The Indian approach has been "head I win, tail you lose." India wants all the dry season waters of the Ganges as well as the Brahmaputra under a mechanism which would enable to fully control both the rivers particularly during the dry season.

Bangladesh had proposed utilization of the monsoon's enormous bounties of the Ganges to augment any shortage it might have during the dry season. For this Bangladesh suggested cooperation of all three co-riparian countries in the Ganges system, Nepal, India and Bangladesh and construction of storage dams in Nepal in the uppermost basin of the system. The idea was to store the monsoon's bounties of the river which go waste into the Bay of Bengal after flooding huge areas in the riparian countries including India and Bangladesh. The waters thus stored could be utilised for subsequent use during the dry season. The project could also leave Nepal with a huge hydro electricity surplus by selling which to the neighbouring countries it could earn considerable revenue.

India on the other hand proposed a link canal scheme which would require digging of a canal across densely populated Bangladesh to divert the dry season flows of the Brahmaputra to the Ganges. Both the off-take and outfall of the canal would be in India. This would not only dislodge people from their homes and hearths, but also further aggravate the dry season water shortage in Bangladesh. The lessons of the Ganges experience should open the eyes of Bangladesh. India does not honour its commitments. And when

India can have control over the Ganges it does not bother what happens to the lower riparian Bangladesh. Therefore one can easily guess how India would behave once it can have total control on both the Brahmaputra and the Ganges.

But the story is much more interesting. Both Bangladesh and India had agreed in October 1982 to conduct pre-feasibility studies into both the projects before selecting the most economical of the two for implementation.

The two projects were to be studied simultaneously and on an equal footing. But India later backed out from its commitment. India refused to study the Bangladesh project. As a result neither of the two projects could be studied and the two sides rejected each other's projects at the meeting of Joint Rivers Commission last year.

All this would prove only one thing, that a permanent solution to Ganges waters sharing has to be found. And if there has to be any augmentation it must be taking the monsoon flows of the Ganges.

The present situation does not affect the two countries the same way. The situation suits India's interests pretty well but affects Bangladesh adversely.

CSO: 4600/1385

BANGLADESH

JAPAN PLANS TO INCREASE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 17 Feb 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] Japan will provide Bangladesh with a grant of yen 763 million (approximately Taka 7.6 crore) for the procurement and installation of machinery and equipment to improve drinking water supply facilities in Jhenidah and Chuadanga district towns during the current fiscal year, reports BSS.

An exchange note to this effect was signed in Dhaka on Saturday between the Governments of Bangladesh and Japan.

Mr A.Z. Khan, Joint Secretary, External Resources Division, and Mr Yasuhide Hayashi, Japanese Charge d'Affaires here signed the exchange of note on behalf of their respective Governments.

With the signing of this exchange of note the total grant assistance extended by Japan to Bangladesh will stand at yen 89.7 billion (about Taka 897 crore) since independence.

In addition, Bangladesh has received about yen 73.19 billion (Taka 732.00 crore) as project loan and yen 163.82 billion (about Taka 1638.20 crore) as commodity aid since independence.

The Government of Japan intends to further increase its quantum of economic assistance to Bangladesh giving greater emphasis on its grant programme. Japan is currently the largest bilateral donor for Bangladesh on the basis of annual aid flow.

Japan has been playing an important role in the economic development of Bangladesh since its independence. It has steadily raised the quantum of its external aid to the developing countries in terms of ODA (Official Development Assistance).

In fiscal year 1984 Japanese allocation for global ODA increased by 9.7 percent while the worldwide ODA blows in real terms have reduced. The growth of Japanese ODA signifies the importance Japan attaches to giving economic aid to developing nations.

CSO: 4600/1385

BANGLADESH

POLITICAL STALEMATE SAID TO AFFECT FOREIGN TIES

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 25 Feb 85 pp 1, 10

[Text] The lingering political stalemate in Bangladesh is having a telling impact on its external relations.

The present regime is interim in character by its own admission.

A stable political government with people's mandate behind it is better placed than an interim government to deal with bilateral problems with other countries.

India, for instance, it is reliably learnt, is reluctant to discuss any major issue including the Farakka problem with the present government. New Delhi is dragging its feet and is awaiting installation of an elected representative government in Bangladesh.

Two election dates have come and gone without the elections being held in Bangladesh since Mr Rajiv Gandhi took over the reins of government in India.

Mr Gandhi has been extended a formal invitation to visit Bangladesh. This is in addition to an earlier invitation personally extended by President Ershad to Prime Minister Mr Rajiv Gandhi when the Bangladesh President visited India to attend the funeral of Mrs Indira Gandhi in November last year.

There has been no word from New Delhi on Mr Gandhi's trip to Bangladesh. There is a remote possibility of the trip taking place in the immediate future.

President Ershad has invitations to visit Japan and South Korea. Since he is too preoccupied with the political situation in the country he is not in a position to undertake the trips.

CSO: 4600/1387

2 April 1985

BANGLADESH

BRIEFS

TALKS WITH SRI LANKA--Colombo, Feb 20--Bangladesh-Sri Lanka joint committee on economic cooperation concluded its first meeting here today, reports BSS. The Sri Lankan side was led by H.P. Hanmugam, Secretary Treasury Ministry of Finance and the Bangladesh side was led by M. Muniruzzaman, Secretary External Resources Division at the meeting. The joint committee reviewed the existing bilateral cooperation and identified a number of new areas for expansion of cooperation. Focus was given on two-way trade expansion especially export of jute goods like bags, carpets to Sri Lanka and question of tariff concession from Sri Lanka on a number of exportable items from Bangladesh. The committee decided that an agreement will be signed within three months for establishment of Joint Chamber of Commerce to facilitate contact between private traders of the two countries. The discussions also covered question of air link between the two countries, cooperation in agricultural research, small scale industries and a number of other fields. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 21 Feb 85 p 12]

BNP DEMANDS--The extended meeting of the national executive committee of BNP that ended on Monday criticised delimitation of the new Jatiya Sangsad constituencies and demanded restoration of the 1979 constituencies. The meeting in a resolution expressed deep concern over the fast deterioration of law and order situation in the country. The BNP meeting apportioned the blame on the Government-backed elements for the deterioration of the law and order situation. In another resolution the meeting criticised the "subservient foreign policy" being pursued by the present Government towards India. The Martial Law Government had totally failed to safeguard the interest of Bangladesh in getting due share of the Ganges water and protect the territorial border in Talpatti and Angorpota, the meeting observed. It demanded to raise these issues at international forum. The meeting demanded release of all political prisoners and withdrawal of verdicts passed by Martial Law courts against a number of former Ministers and MPs belonging to BNP. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 14 Feb 85 p 1]

BENGALI CALCULATOR--The members of Notre Dame College "Science Club" under the leadership of Mr Mubarak Rashid Tipu, has developed the first ever electronic calculator in easy Bangla digit. According to the Press release on Friday, the calculator will be put on display at Notre Dame College at 4 p.m. today (Saturday). The calculator bagged first prize in the Shishu Academy's fair, the Press release said. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 28 Feb 85 p 8]

CSO: 4600/1389

2 April 1985

INDIA

ANALYST DISCUSSES RAJIV CAMPAIGNING STYLE

Madras THE HINDU in English 26 Feb 85 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Feb. 25.

As the campaign for the Assembly elections enters its final stage, it has become increasingly clear that the Congress (I) dissidents have not been able to impair the party's prospects to any noticeable extent.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi took a calculated risk in denying the party ticket to as many as 1000 Congress (I) MLAs, including 69 Ministers, in the belief that this bold step was bound to impress the voters that he was determined to clean up Indian political life.

He was not deterred by the dark forebodings of some of his party colleagues that this drastic purge could lead to a mini revolt marring the Congress (I)'s fortunes in at least some if not all of the States. But it is now being conceded by his critics that the voters have generally welcomed this cleansing operation, although the new candidates chosen in place of those who were denied party ticket are not all of impeccable reputation.

Solo campaign: The one-person campaign of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in these Assembly elections has turned out to be a rather repetitious monologue in the absence of any new themes that can capture public imagination. During the Lok Sabha poll, he succeeded admirably in casting himself in the role of a young and dynamic leader with no past to live down, one who deserved to be given a chance to redeem his promise of a clean government.

The new Rajiv doctrine that the country can progress smoothly only if the same party was in power in both the Centre and in the States has disappointed some of his admirers who

feel that, in his urge to chalk out a new path for his leadership, he has unwittingly allowed himself to be swayed unduly by his easy success in the parliamentary poll into imagining that he could perform the same miracle in the Assembly elections. But those who are inclined to place a more charitable interpretation on his virtual advocacy of one-party rule are prepared to give him the benefit of doubt that he has been urging only a more harmonious working relationship between the Centre and the States through certain shared commitments in the larger national interest.

Controversial rhetoric: It is the urge to say something spectacular, promise more and more to sustain public expectations, that has been compelling the Prime Minister to embark on this sort of campaign rhetoric that is highly controversial to say the least. But the badly divided Opposition parties, which have not yet recovered from the shock of their rout in the Parliamentary elections continue to cry wolf against Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's redefinition of Indian democracy to propagate the desirability of proxy rule of the Centre in the States.

There is no comparable wave as such at work in these elections, but the wind seems to favour the Congress (I) in most States. The absence of a matching fervour in favour of the ruling party has made it quite evident that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's personal charisma and political prestige are not the real issues in these Assembly elections, since local factors tend to condition the reflexes of the voters much more than bigger national issues.

New slogans: The campaign strategists in the Prime Minister's entourage who have been using modern ad-lib methods to coin new slogans are not unaware of the hazards of promising too much in the heat of an election campaign. But still they have succumbed to the temptation of building up Mr. Rajiv Gandhi as a rare individual gifted with a Midas touch who can solve any issue with his sincerity of purpose.

The Prime Minister has been using his IAF aircraft as a flying office that is equipped with the latest radio telephone communications to govern the country from high altitude during this three-week campaign sending his administrative directives and decisions through his highly centralised Secretariat in Delhi. It has certainly helped to create an atmosphere of mobility and drive, a determination to get things done.

Impromptu decisions: The very attempt to make a deep impact on the minds of the people with quick responses to various developments followed by decisive action in specific situations does create an impression of strong leadership, especially when the people are looking forward to a refreshing break from the vacillations of the past. But the very tendency to take impromptu decisions in the name of bold action produces the kind of side effects that are no less harmful in the long run in governing a vast and complex country like India burdened with a heavy backlog of problems.

After the hurly-burly of the Assembly elections, the Prime Minister and his advisers have to do some introspection on the new style of his leadership to smoothen the rough edges and make it more responsive to the realities of the Indian scene. The fund of goodwill that he enjoys has to be prudently utilised to achieve the desired results, while preparing the country both politically and psychologically to move forward more rapidly into the future.

CSO: 4600/1394

INDIA

EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN TIES WITH U.S., OTHERS TOLD

Rajiv Visits Planned

Madras THE HINDU in English 26 Feb 85 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text] New Delhi, Feb 25--The Indian Ambassadors to the United States and the Soviet Union, Mr K.S. Bajpai and Dr Nurul Hasan, have been called to Delhi for consultations to prepare for the Prime Minister's visits to Washington and Moscow to which the Government is attaching considerable importance.

The dates for Mr Rajiv Gandhi's trip to Washington in the course of his two-week long tour of France, the United States, Algeria and Egypt, have been set, but there is still some uncertainty about the exact timing of his visit to Moscow in May because of the ill-health of the Soviet President, Mr Konstantin Chernenko.

U.S. influencing Pakistan?: The U.S. is keen on establishing a better rapport with India by nudging Pakistan to strive for better relations with it. Though the Reagan Administration is not prepared to give up its policy of arming Pakistan under the present on-going military aid programme, it is known to be inclined to confine this assistance to a certain level if relations with India improve to justify such a limitation.

It is known that the U.S. has been urging Pakistan to scale down its clandestine help to the Sikh extremists besides trying the hijackers to create a better atmosphere for an early resumption of the suspended Indo-Pak dialogue on a no-war pact. The change in the Pakistani attitude is attributed, at least partly, to U.S. pressure.

But India is waiting to see whether the U.S. tries to exert parallel pressures on India to adopt a more acceptable attitude over various international issues to suit American policy pursuits. It is considered highly unlikely that Mr Rajiv Gandhi, much as he would like to establish better understanding with the Reagan Administration, would submit to any such moves that might lead to a dilution of India's friendship with the Soviet Union.

Continuity of commitments: The current Indian policy based on a continuity of the country's basic international commitments to safeguard its interests aims at making a renewed effort to improve relations with the U.S. without sacrificing its close links with the Soviet Union. It also seeks to enhance its flexibility in dealing with the two superpowers by establishing a closer politico-economic relationship with Western Europe.

Mending fences with U.K., France: It is in pursuance of this policy that India is taking steps to end the recent strains in relations with Britain and France. After having made known its resentment in no uncertain terms by delaying the conclusion of some defence contracts and postponing the visits of British Ministers of Defence and Trade, the Government of India has started responding positively to the British moves to restrict the activities of the Sikh extremists in the United Kingdom.

Similarly, the espionage is not being allowed to mar the relationship with France.

Maintaining delicate balance: It is hoped that Mr Chernenko would be well enough for Mr Rajiv Gandhi to visit Moscow in May before going to Washington in June. The symbolic gesture of visiting Moscow first has its own political significance, since the new Prime Minister did not want to be misunderstood by changing for whatever reason this delicate balance that had been observed from Indira Gandhi's time.

Armacost Planned Visit

Madras THE HINDU in English 28 Feb 85 p 10

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Feb. 27.

The current improvement in Indo-U.S. relations is reflected by the visit of a third American warship to India in the last one year after a break of almost 14 years following the Nixon-Kissinger tilt against this country during the Bangladesh conflict.

The ice was broken in February 1984 when the American frigate USS Whittle paid a port call at Cochin followed by another warship, USS Tuller, at Bombay in May last year. Now the third one, USS Downes, is arriving tomorrow at Goa on a four-day visit.

The Government of India decided long ago that in seeking permission for port calls by foreign warships, the diplomatic missions concerned should fill in a form specifying from where the vessel was arriving and where it was due to go, besides disclosing whether or not it was carrying nuclear weapons. Though many countries complied with this requirement, the U.S. declined to do so saying that its laws did not permit the disclosure of the movements of American warships or the nature of their armament.

It was only after Indira Gandhi's visit to the U.S. in 1982 that an effort was made to find a way out of this tangle as part of a general endeavour to improve Indo-American relations. The U.S. agreed in principle to comply with the Indian requirements and India in turn decided to accept whatever information was provided by the U.S. embassy without seeking any embarrassing clarifications.

A more significant move from the American side than the mere port call by this U.S. warship will be the arrival of the U.S. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Mr. Michael Armacost, on May 13 for bilateral talks with India, after visiting China and Pakistan.

'New opportunities': Mr. Armacost has been speaking lately of the 'new opportunities' open for closer Indo-American relations, attaching considerable importance to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's forthcoming visit to Washington. He has been talking of India's primacy in South Asia with over a billion people, a strategic area of considerable geopolitical importance.

Though he has not held out any promise of a change in the U.S. policy of arming Pakistan, he has been hinting of the U.S. desire for better understanding with India in the bilateral sphere. He said in a recent speech in Philadelphia on South Asia's growing importance: 'We support India's unity, territorial integrity and non-alignment, and recognise its pivotal role and responsibilities for regional peace and stability. We have intensified our high-level policy dialogue and expanded scientific cooperation.'

A turning point: The outcome of the Indo-U.S. talks next week in Washington on procedures for transfer of high technology, under the memorandum of understanding initialled in November last, will indicate how far the present Administration is prepared to go in extending this cooperation, before Mr. Armacost arrives in Delhi on March 13 for an exchange of views on bilateral issues. His visit to India is part of a lot of preparatory work that is being done by the U.S. to make Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's visit a turning point for the better in Indo-American relations, despite the differences over the continued supply of U.S. arms to Pakistan.

CSO: 4600/1394

INDIA

INDO-BULGARIAN BUSINESS COUNCIL MEETS IN DELHI

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 27 Feb 85 p 15

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Feb. 26.—The fifth meeting of Indo-Bulgarian Joint Business Council held here yesterday set \$74 million as the target for the two-way trade for the current year, representing about 40 per cent increase from 1984.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. The chairman of the Indian section of the council, Mr Banshi Dhar, indicated that India's trade with Bulgaria this year is likely to undergo qualitative change in respect of commodities to be exported from India. A series of new items such as oil-cakes, raw cotton, steel wire ropes, graphic electrodes, leather and leather goods, hosiery would to a large extent, replace traditional commodities like jute manufactures, spices, coffee, tobacco and hides and skins.

Mr Banshi Dhar regretted India's unfavourable trade balance with Bulgaria to the extent of Rs 86 million in 1984. Many of the items such as machinery and equipment, rubber and industrial consumer durables at present imported by Bulgaria from other sources, could be exported by India at competitive price and quality, he said.

Mr Tocho Tochev, Ambassador of Bulgaria in India, said that in view of excellent political, economic and social relations between the two countries for the last three decades, there was considerable scope for stepping up of economic and trade cooperation, particularly in the field of electronics.

CSO: 4600/1391

INDIA

DETAILS OF GANGES POLLUTION STUDY SUMMARIZED

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 19 Feb 85 pp 1, 9

[Article by Joydeep Gupta]

[Text]

THE task of the recently set-up Central Ganga Authority to clean India's holiest river is not going to be easy, if the findings of a study commissioned by the Government itself, through the Central Board for the Prevention and Control of Water Pollution, is any indication.

The report, submitted by the Centre for Study of Man and Environment in Presidency College, Calcutta, says that many stretches of the Ganga are extremely polluted from various sources—industrial discharge, domestic and municipal wastes, unplanned irrigation resulting in excess soil salinity, and excessive use of fertilizers and pesticides.

In all the "ambient water quality in the Ganga has been found to be in a state fit for drinking after conventional treatment followed by disinfection and for propagation of wildlife".

By water quality standards, this is a low grading, somewhere between the third and fourth grades of the five-grade scale normally used by environmentalists.

The main reasons for this, of course, are the high coliform count and the high biochemical oxygen demand (BOD) load. The coliform count evaluates the extent of harmful bacteria in the water, while BOD is a general scale of organic pollution in water. A BOD count of three milligrams a litre is considered safe.

The report points out that "the general insanitary condition in rural areas and inadequately treated effluents originating from industrial plants and urban areas are obviously the main sources of high organic pollution". It also makes the point that one of the most dangerous things about pollution in the Ganga is that millions of people, due to religious reasons, treat the water as if it was un-

polluted, especially when it came to bathing.

Most of the studies about pollution in the Ganga have been based upon the mean annual flow of water in the river. However, this report points out that the lean season flow is only a fraction of the mean annual flow of water, and, since it is in the lean season that water pollution is at its highest, this is the volume of water which should actually be considered when planning anti-pollution steps.

In the Ganga basin, less than 14% of the entire land area is covered by forests. By the National Forest Policy enunciated in 1952 at least one-third of the entire land area in the basin should have been under forest cover. The report points out that "due to lack of forest cover in the higher reaches of the streams at present, the land is being fast degraded."

The danger of over-irrigation is dealt with the great detail in the report. Large canals change the stream flows considerably, as in Haridwar, where nearly 60% of the total water is drawn off through the Upper Ganga canal.

Over-irrigation has other harmful effects. The report has suggested that "to avoid building up of high salinity and alkalinity in agricultural lands, which results from the lack of balance between the salts added and those removed by leaching and runoff, adequate measures to drain away excess irrigation water is to be taken, so that the surplus water while seeping down carries off the excess salts with it. This measures will not let the land lose its fertility, for the drainage of water let off from such irrigation farms is likely to contain dissolved salts only."

Possibly the biggest source of pollution in the Ganga and in most other rivers in India, is the over-use of fertilizers and pesticides.

Through excess use of fertilizers and pesticides, very concentrated doses of harmful chemicals get into the river water. The report had found that the concentration of these chemicals, so far, was not above the danger level, a finding that has been questioned by many other experts. However, the report strongly recommends that farmers be educated about the harmful effects of excessive use of chemical fertilizers and strong pesticides. It has also been pointed out that these chemicals have a very harmful effect on groundwater and the report has suggested that a detailed study be made on these effects, by setting up monitoring stations.

Untreated sewage is of course one of the major sources of pollution in the Ganga. The report said that since underground sewerage was very costly, lined and covered surface drains should be used, and then primary or secondary treatment systems should be provided at the outfalls of these drains to the river.

TONED DOWN

About effluents from industries, the findings of the report have been strongly criticized by many experts who have said that the actual volume of effluents has been toned down considerably. However, the report has suggested that "incorporation of suitable treatment facilities for the effluents in the designs of industries should be made compulsory at the time of granting a licence to a new industry in the Ganga basin. To achieve this, appropriate legislation or suitable amendment to the existing legislations should be brought in. Production should be allowed only after the confirmation that the effluent treatment plant as vetted by the State board authorities has been installed and it is functioning properly. Environmental impact study for each new industrial unit should also be carried out."

In the study, the entire 2,525 km length of the Ganga has been divided into five major sections—mountainous, upper plain, middle plain, deltaic non-tidal and deltaic tidal.

Observing that throughout its area, the Ganga basin has a very large groundwater reserve, the report has pointed out that the problem of groundwater pollution has not received the attention it deserves.

The major sources of groundwater pollution is subsurface percolation of municipal or industrial waste water, through sources like soak pits, septic tanks, wells and mine shafts, or even through the application of fertilizers and pesticides. Human and animal excreta are also potential sources of groundwater pollution.

But what is much more serious is that in some cases, polluted effluents from industrial plants are deliberately poured deep down through soak pits or sink holes. This endangers the entire ground-

water reservoir, and this is extremely difficult to clean, while it poses a great health hazard, especially in the unconsolidated alluvial formations as in the Ganga-tic trough.

The report has dealt in detail about the problems that over-irrigation might cause in the form of increased salinity and alkalinity of the water.

IRRIGATION WATER

At present, the annual consumption of irrigation water in the Ganga basin is 134.5 billion cubic metres. Out of this, 85 billion cubic metres are drawn from surface sources, and the rest from underground reservoirs. Going by the usual rate of 200 milligrams of salts a litre of surface water, the total quantity of salts added to the Ganga basin every year by irrigation is 17 million tons. The groundwater irrigation contributes another 24.7 million tons of salts every year. Given the annual flow of the Ganga, 468.7 billion cubic metres, this would mean that the salinity level of the Ganga is raised by 88.5 milligrams a litre every year.

This coupled with the wastewater that is generated by irrigation and other sources, has already rendered infertile quite a few tracts of land in the Ganga basin, mainly in Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh.

CRITICAL LEVEL

Regarding the other indicators of pollution, the concentrations of ammoniacal and organic nitrogen in the Ganga basin has been found to be below the critical level in general. The same applies for nitrates and nitrogen. The amount of dissolved oxygen in the water is higher than that required for support of riverine life.

One of the most interesting aspects of the Ganga is its ability to kill harmful bacteria. It has been measured that 75% of the harmful bacteria in the Ganga are killed within 24 hours, while it takes much longer in any other river.

Non-Government experts have maintained for a long time that the level of toxic chemicals in the water, especially downstream of towns, are much higher than the critical limits. This view has been strengthened by an observation in the report, that the most polluted stretch of the water, when it comes to industrial pollution, is the stretch immediately downstream of Kanpur.

Experts have suggested that the most pressing thing that needs to be done if the pollution in the Ganga is to be lessened is to put up proper sewage treatment plants at all towns whose populations exceed 10,000. On top of that, apart from licensing only those industrial units which include effluent treatment systems, such systems must be made compulsory in all existing plants, and the Central Ganga Authority given statutory powers to see that these systems are in working order.

INDIA

ASSASSINATION OF FORMER TERRORIST MAY DAMAGE CPI-M

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 19 Feb 85 p 12

[Text1

AGARTALA, February 18.

THE recent assassination of Mr. Benanda Jamatia, president of the erstwhile extremist organisation (ATPLO) at Casku vilalge in Amarpur sub-division of south Tripura district, has understandably created a flutter in Agartala and other parts of the state.

Hrishya Kumar Jamatia, one of his two companions, was killed on the spot, while the other, Raja Jamatia, managed to escape.

Mr. Benanda Jamatia, once the trusted associate of the Tribal National Volunteers chief, Bijoy Hrankhawl broke away from TNV to form his own organisation — the All-Tripura People's Liberation Organisation—and figured in headlines in the national press because of a series of acts of violence and sabotage in Amarpur.

He and his followers launched numerous attacks on trucks and buses and resorted to terror tactics to extort money. He masterminded a plot to abduct Bijoy Hrankhawl and his wife from their house in the Ambassa area in north Tripura district.

Benanda Jamatia figured as a leader of Tripura Upajati Juba Samity, defected to the TNV along with Bijoy Hrankhawl and finally became head of the ATPLO.

On July 23, 1983, Benanda Jamatia and 167 of his followers surrendered to the deputy chief minister, Mr. Dasarath Deb, at Raiabari in Udaipur sub-division of south Tripura district.

Later, he joined the CPM-led Tribal Frontal Organisation — the Tri-

pura Gana Mukti Parishad — and was made one of the vice-presidents. He had since then been quite active in political activities.

With his record of services among the Christian-dominated tribals of Amarpur and Uraipur in south district as well as in north district, the CPM tried to utilise his influence among the prosperous and militant Jamatias. His followers rallied behind him when the CPM felt it necessary to counter the clout of TUJS among the Jamatias and win over such people as were outside the CPM's sphere of influence.

Following Mr. Benanda Jamatia's surrender, the Tripura government took special steps for his safety. He was provided with armed escort. The CPM had been trying to use Benanda Jamatia's good offices for persuading the extremists to join the mainstream by laying down arms. The erstwhile extremist leader's assassination, therefore, is bound to hit the CPM's drive in this field.

Siddi Kumar Jamatia, a priest, was murdered in September last year. As he was close to the TUJS, its leader raised the issue on the floor of the Tripura assembly, alleging that the suspects had called on Benanda Jamatia at his house prior to the murder. The TUJS had even alleged that Hrishyakumar Jamatia, who was killed with Benanda Jamatia, was among the suspected assassins of the priest.

The chief minister, Mr. Nripen Chakraborty, had confirmed that Hrishyakumar Jamatia's name figured in the police report on the investigation of the priest's murder.

CSO: 5650/0081

INDIA

COMPUTER MONITORING OF PUBLIC SECTOR BEGINS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Feb 85 p 1

[Article by G.K. Pandey]

[Text] New Delhi, February 27--A totally new concept of computerised monitoring of public sector projects has been introduced at the behest of the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, it is authoritatively learnt.

This should help end the era of inordinate delays in the implementation of public sector projects which invariably result in massive cost overruns.

As directed by the prime minister, the planning commission will act as the nucleus for this exercise in monitoring. A special cell with modern computer facilities has been created in the commission for the purpose. The prime minister's office has been provided with terminal facilities of the same computer to enable him to keep a close watch on progress reports.

Under the new scheme every public undertaking is expected to submit in the first three days of every month a flash report in a format to be later fed into the computer in the planning commission. No excuse for any delay in providing the necessary data will be entertained, it has been made clear.

The exercise is part of the prime minister's proclaimed strategy to streamline the administration with a view to eradicating delays.

Inquiries reveal that while reviewing the present system of monitoring major projects recently, Mr Rajiv Gandhi had observed that the present time-lag in preparing the reports "for the cabinet is too long." He wanted a separate procedure based on a firm time schedule to be evolved.

To start with, the new procedure will apply only to central projects costing over Rs 100 crores. Month-wise targets from January to December, 1986 have already been identified for these projects.

In a communication to secretaries of all ministries, the member-secretary of the planning commission has outlined the salient features of the scheme and the format for the monthly flash reports.

All ministries have been asked to direct chief executives of public undertakings attached to them that the reports may be sent to the planning commission directly by telex or telegram to reach within the first three days of the month. Absence of response within the stipulated period will be automatically indicated on the report to the prime minister.

Trial Run

Since a trial run was to be attempted for January, it had been suggested that the reports should reach the planning commission by February 20. But from March the reports are to be submitted by the third day of each month.

The need for close monitoring has been felt for several years but beyond verbal or written reminders no concrete measures were taken. Seldom did these reminders produce results. It is common knowledge that there have been instances where the cost overruns have been thrice the originally approved estimates. The public investment board, on several occasions had passed severe strictures against the concerned authorities for exceeding the cost.

Financial discipline has assumed great significance in the context of the present resources crunch. Lack of resources has forced the planning commission to drop or phase out some of the important projects creating numerous consequent problems.

CSO: 4600/1392

INDIA

WRITER DISCUSSES PROBLEMS IN MIZO SETTLEMENT

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 28 Feb 85 p 9

[Text] Shillong, Feb 27--While Mr Laldenga and the Centre are sorting out their differences on an interim arrangement, there are indications that a faction of the MNF, led by "Commander" Lalrawna, will not accept a settlement short of sovereignty. However, the majority of the MNF under Mr Tawnluia and Mr Zoramthanga will honour Mr Laldenga's word and resume a normal life as their predecessors, including Mr Biakchhunga, a former Army Chief, had done when Brigadier Sailo was the Chief Minister.

Mr Tawnluia and Mr Thankima, a member of the MNF Cabinet, were associated with the negotiations in New Delhi and are in an age bracket when a settled life has its compulsions. According to reliable sources, Mr Laldenga is weary of his lonely existence on the outskirts of London and longs to be among his own people. Till a few months ago, he was confident of carrying the entire underground, rebels with him, but it is not so now. In fact, the Centres stress on arming the Governor of Mizoram, when it becomes a State, with the special powers enjoyed by the Governor of Nagaland stems from this apprehension. There is also a fear that former members of the Mizo Zirlai Pawl, once a prestigious socio-cultural organization, may take to the jungle.

Mr Laldenga has opposed the special provision because "misuse" could undermine his position just when he has to convince his people about the necessity of a political settlement. Mr Laldenga perhaps is the best judge of the grave problems implicit in the transition from a revolutionary to an administrator. It will take more than his proverbial oratory and skill to erase the memory of broken homes among the Mizos and promises not kept.

The reported interim arrange with a "council of advisers," headed by Mr Laldenga, to maintain law and order calls for a package deal. Although the Chief Minister, Mr Lalthanhawla has reiterated that he is willing to step down to accommodate Mr Laldenga, the Congress (I) high Command cannot jettison the dramatic electoral mandate of last year to appease Mr Laldenga. At the same time, it would be indeed strange for Mr Laldenga to cross swords with the Congress in an election, should Statehood be declared--soon after a peace accord. The Congress MNF equation is crucial and Mr Lalthanhawla's discussions with Mr Laldenga are meant to sort it out and that will involve hard bargaining.

The modalities for depositing the arms may not prove insurmountable given the vital concessions such as a general amnesty for all the underground rebels, including those charged with specific crimes. The Centre can adopt the same procedure as in the case of the Naga undertrials, including Mowu Angami, who were kept in a special jail on the outskirts of Shillong.

Even if a settlement is reached, the developments in Mizoram will be conditioned to some extent by the "external factor" namely Dhaka's evident support for the MNF and the TNV, operating from their bases in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

CSO: 4600/1393

INDIA

BRIEFS

QATAR CULTURAL PACT--Bahrain, Feb 26--An executive programme for cultural exchange between India and Qatar for 1985-86 was signed by the Qatar Minister for Information, Mr Essa Ghanim al-Kawari and the Indian Ambassador to Qatar, Mr S. Basheeruddin at Doha yesterday, reports PTI. The programme is a follow-up agreement on cultural cooperation between the two Governments signed in June 1980 in Doha. The programme envisages exchange in the fields of culture, art, mass media--film, television, radio and newspapers--tourism and archaeology and publications. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 27 Feb 85 p 5]

PAKISTAN ENVOY'S REMARKS--New Delhi, Feb 19 (UNI)--The Pakistan ambassador to India, Dr Humayun Khan, has said the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi's recent statements seeking friendly relations with neighbours had vastly improved prospects of better Indo-Pak relations and regional security and stability. Addressing a gathering at Jawaharlal Nehru University yesterday he described Mr Gandhi's statements after assuming office as "very positive." Dr Khan reiterated Pakistan's desire for resuming early foreign secretary-level talks on normalising bilateral relations as well as convening the second meeting of the joint commission. He said last year the foreign secretaries had achieved a great deal during their discussions in India and Pakistan on the proposals for a non-aggression pact and a peace and friendship treaty. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 20 Feb 85 p 5]

NEW BELGIAN AMBASSADOR--The new ambassador of Belgium, Mr Marcel Van De Kerckhove, presented his credentials to President Zail Singh at the Rashtrapati Bhavan on Tuesday morning, reports PTI. Welcoming the new ambassador, the President said India and Belgium shared the values of peace, democracy and justice--both political and economic. "This provides our two countries an excellent basis to cooperate for bettering the international environment to the benefit of all mankind," Mr Zail Singh said. Referring to multi-faceted cooperation and Belgium's participation in India's developmental process, Mr Zail Singh said "these relations are indicative of the fact that mutually beneficial cooperation is possible between two countries with different historical backgrounds and geographical location." While presenting his credentials earlier, Mr Kerckhove said the bilateral relations between the two countries had already been excellent. "The Belgium Government understands and shares your hope for a world with more justice and lasting peace," he said. Belgium is confident that a new impetus would be given in the near future to its already important economic relations with India, the ambassador said. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 20 Feb 85 p 8]

OFFER FROM USSR--The Soviet Union is willing to provide training for Indian engineers and specialists in fighting pollution and in solving the ecological problems, reports PTI. This was stated by Prof Yu A. Leikin of the Moscow Chemico-Technological Institute in an interview to Soviet Land publications in Delhi on Tuesday. Prof Leikin, who is also the winner of USSR State Award, is in Delhi to participate in a seminar on "ecology and pollution problem," which is being organised by the UNESCO. Prof Leikin pointed out that the Soviet system, developed by the institute to fight water pollution, was widely acknowledged throughout the world. It was most sophisticated and economical. This system was applied in cleaning the water supplied in Moscow. Moscow is leading among world's big cities with the most clean, potable and wholesome water, he noted. He further said that the Soviet systems to fight air and water pollution were designed to detect 1550 chemicals, gases, another kinds of pollutants, while European and American pollution systems were designed to detect only 860. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 20 Feb 85 p 8]

CSO: 4600/1395

IRAN

BAKHTIAR SUBMITS WESTERN POWERS BEHIND KHOMEYNI REGIME

Paris LETTRE PERSANE in French Dec 84 p 7

[Article: "The former minister of the Shah of Iran believes that Khomeyni's regime survives because it is actively supported by the Western powers"]

[Text] One of the principle opponents of the Khomeyni regime, Chapour Bakhtiar, spokesman for the Iranian National Resistance Movement, was a guest of the Foreign Press Club in Switzerland yesterday. The former Prime Minister of the Shah of Iran, deposed in February of 1979, answered questions for the reporters of MATIN.

"The regime of Khomeyni, he immediately declared, survives because of the help of the West. These countries sell more than 18 billion dollars of merchandise, arms, and essential products to Iran. The Mullah regime remains in power because of the support of Western powers, which is scoffed at and insulted, but it is always there when it is a question of 'doing business'."

"Can it be said that the Khomeyni regime has become stabilized?"

"No, it lives from day to day. The Iranian leaders haven't made any real accomplishments for 5 years. It is true that a certain number of Iranians still support the tyrant, but there is a reason. This regime spends ten billion dollars each year to maintain its "shock troops." Also, do not forget the terrorism which exists in this country. Summary justice, intimidations, tortures, and assassinations. The terrorism at the time of the Shah, believe me, was infinitely less brutal than that which exists today."

"But we don't hear about spectacular attacks against the regime now, as we did in preceding years. Isn't that a sign that the regime is stabilizing?"

"The attacks are continuing. The demonstrations in opposition to the Mullah regime are continuing, and, I could even add, they are becoming more gradual. Of course the attacks are less blatant than before, but no day passes in Iran without some opposition being demonstrated against the regime.

The discontent which must precede the revolution and fuel the final assault now exists. I think that for large revolutions, before the overthrow of a regime, the number of small attacks against it are not proportional to the event which will follow them."

"Can we expect that a change will soon take place in Iran?"

"As I have just told you, the regime is presently sustained from abroad by the trade which it maintains with the industrialized countries, and from within it is maintained by well-organized repressive measures. Even if I possessed any details concerning the overthrow of Khomeyni, I couldn't reveal them to you."

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CSO: 4619/23

IRAN

MINISTER EXPLAINS COMPLETED, FUTURE AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 30 Jan 85 p 15

[Text] If the Majlis ratifies it, the purchasing of essential agricultural goods will be guaranteed.

In a press, radio and television interview yesterday morning, 'Abbas'ali Zali, the minister of agriculture, spoke on the policies and steps taken to increase agricultural production as well as the purchase of agricultural products at a guaranteed rate and the export of agricultural products.

First, stating that in order to remove the existing obstacles and problems regarding the production of wheat, cotton, rice and other agricultural products, the Ministry of Agriculture has carried out certain activities, he said: The procurement of seeds and fertilizer and the creation of pesticide stations are among the important activities. He explained: Despite the drought in some areas, with the incentives that the government provided for purchasing the surplus products of the farmers, it was able to purchase 1,200,000 tons of wheat for bread and 90,000 tons of wheat for seeds from this hardworking class. With the activities which have been carried out, in the next agricultural year, wheat production will increase.

Then, concerning cotton and rice, he pointed out: Ultimately, there were problems in purchasing cotton from farmers as well as the high yield Amol rice 2 and 3, when the farmers suffered some losses. However, the government took steps to eliminate the obstacles.

In the current agricultural year, with 220,000 hectares under cotton cultivation, we had an increase of 15-20 percent over the previous year, in that 350,000 tons of cotton has been produced, 100,00 tons of which was carded cotton.

He added: With the planning that has been done, this year, 15,000 tons of cotton will be exported. With the negotiations completed, Hungary, Bulgaria and Brazil have also announced that

they are prepared to purchase cotton. In the area of high-yield Amol rice 2 and 3 also, we had a production increase of 75,000 tons over the previous year. Concerning sugar beets, we face some decreases in the area under cultivation; but considering the steps taken, the level of production in the unit of the area increased compared to the previous year, and thus far, 2,200,000 tons of sugar beets have been delivered to the sugar factories.

In regards to the problems of sugar beet cultivation, he pointed out: In this area, we face mechanization problems regarding cultivation and harvesting. For this reason, an incentive policy will be imposed in the following manner: If a factory has a production increase, it can sell the increased production on the open market. Also, it has been determined that the beets produced in Khorasan will be insured so that the farmers will be more willing to engage in sugar beet production.

Concerning the purchase of agricultural products, he said: In accordance with a legislative note which was offered to the Majlis, the purchase of essential agricultural products will be guaranteed.

Then, the minister of agriculture referred to the production of fodder and said: Every year, a great deal of fodder is imported from abroad, but there are programs under study and underway to increase production. For instance, a plan on 8,000 hectares with the help of the people and the KAD [student job training] plan is being implemented in the Provinces of Khuzestan and Hormozgan, which has yielded good results. Also, clover and (resing) have been planted on 20,000 hectares of rice fields. For the first time, this plan was implemented on the rice fields of Khuzestan after the rice was harvested, with very good results.

In regards to the ownership of agricultural lands, the minister of agriculture said: What is important to us at the present is to create incentives in the people for the cultivation of agricultural products. In this connection, all kinds of aid and facilities, including loans and machinery, will be granted to them in order for farmers to work with more interest.

Concerning the clarification of the temporary cultivation situation, also, certain steps have been taken and aid will be provided until the obstacles have been removed.

Concerning the fisheries, he said: The private sector must give the government more help in the area of fishing. We are prepared to purchase boats and other fishing equipment for the fishermen, although there are problems in the ports in regards to docking.

Zali then referred to the export of agricultural goods and said: Considering the follow up which has been done, this year and in

the next years the exporters may export cotton, citrus fruits, apples, dried fruits and vegetables at a preferred rate and, in exchange, may import packaging or other equipment needed in their factories. He emphasized: Concerning the packaging and standardization of these products, the necessary coordination must take place.

Concerning an agricultural census, Zali said: One of the problems of the Ministry of Agriculture is the lack of necessary statistics and information on agricultural issues. In this connection, on the basis of a request by the Ministry of Agriculture, an agricultural census will be taken during the period 21 March 1985-20 March 1986.

In conclusion, concerning the procurement of parts and kinds of machinery, the minister of agriculture said: In this area, there has been coordination with the Ministries of Industry and Commerce and efforts will be made to either import or produce domestically certain machinery. Also, concerning the import of spare parts, the usual steps have been taken.

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CSO: 4640/422

IRAN

MUSAVI: EXECUTIVE ORGANS MUST PROPERLY INFORM MASS MEDIA

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 24 Feb 85 p 2

[Text] KEYHAN Political Service—The executive organizations, and especially public relations groups, must have the best and most extensive relations with the radio, television, and press media, and must provide them with the best and most lively information. Prime Minister Engineer Musavi told this to a group of central public relations officials yesterday afternoon. The prime minister also said: It is a mistake to expect the press to write whatever public relations wants. The full text of Engineer Musavi's speech follows below.

At the time of the triumph of the Islamic revolution, we were strong in various areas, but in some areas, such as culture, we were very weak. For example, for some time after the triumph of the revolution, if we listened to the radio or watched television, we found few orthodox people; there were few newspaper reporters who deeply believed in the Islamic revolution. Officials had not yet recognized culture as a special category through which propaganda could be advanced. Perhaps only the leader of the revolution paid heed and attached importance to the matter of propaganda and delivering accurate information to the people and the officials; he still places a value on this matter.

We see that he discussed the matter of radio and television along with several of the country's crucial issues in his last message. In any case, many problems have been solved, but weaknesses still remain. For example, when we look at painting, literature, and other arts, we see that overall none of the things done so far have been worthy of the greatness of the revolution, although promising movements in this area have begun. Various factors, including psychological and spiritual ones, may have had an effect on the weakness of public relations. These religious bodies, groups, and organizations have paid little attention to propaganda because they think it hypocritical or superficial. Another reason is the unfamiliarity of executive officials with ways to establish relations with the people, obtain information, and involve them in affairs. They have not established a public relations organization in a high position on the chain of command and information dissemination, in order to enable its work to be profitable. Unfortunately, public relations groups have attached little importance to their own work, and have not thought extensively about their responsibility. This has also caused the position of public relations to be discounted. I have seen that when public relations officials are included in a decision-making process, they not only offer useful views, but they do a good job of conveying information from the executive organization to the people. In reality, if the importance of public relations responsibilities is not greater than that of other sectors, it is no less.

Weakness in Communications

Engineer Musavi noted that there are weaknesses in communications between public relations groups and the press and the people. He said: Public relations groups do not have adequate and precise knowledge of the logic that governs radio and television and the press. Actually, in public relations a visible malfunction is that the brothers do not take steps to establish close relations with newspapers. It is the job of the press to collect interesting news and inform the people, but the weakness in this regard arises from the public relations groups, who do not consider themselves members of the press community. In order to realize what material is needed by the press, the executive organizations, and especially public relations groups, must have the best and most extensive relations with propaganda organizations, from radio and television to the press, and provide them with the best and most lively information. The idea that the press and other media must write whatever the public relations groups want is wrong.

We must think of the newspapers and the press as free, and remember that they must have the power to criticize. If your organization does good work, you must know the art of conveying desirable news to the press. We must service the newspapers well. It is in this way that the newspapers will gradually develop a creative and constructive appearance and become an aid to you in your work. We have experimented and seen that when correct information reaches the newspapers, the press invests in it well. In order to solve an organization's problems, they send their correspondents. This must originate with the public relations groups themselves.

I sense that in practice in some organizations the officials have very little sensitivity to the media, and do not realize how much effect an article, headline, or news item, or a bad headline can have on facilitating or obstructing an organization's work.

He added: An organization may have done all the groundwork for carrying out a revolutionary task, but if the media are not aware of it and there is an opposition movement, how often this revolutionary task is defeated at the very first step. On the other hand, sometimes a very basic task which must be carried out in an organization is more than 50 percent facilitated by the newspapers, because they create the necessary political and social atmosphere.

For example, I am certain that with regard to distribution or in the sheriff's departments the newspapers can play a basic role, and when sufficient explanation has been given to the people, many of the problems of the officials will be alleviated.

With regard to the creativity of the media, Engineer Musavi said: Every organization can have a propaganda plan. They should not lie to the people; they must help the newspapers convey reality to the people the way it is, and create the atmosphere for the success of an organization's task.

Engineer Musavi also added: The public relations groups have a complex role in relation to the people. There must therefore be genuine sympathy in these organizations, so that they cry at the pain of the people, and rejoice with their happiness. If such a feeling does not exist, they will not be capable of communicating with the people.

The public relations groups must therefore communicate with the people emotionally and humanely, not with statistics and figures, and they must be sensitive to the existing problems in society. He added: An official in the Islamic republic must feel the pain of the people, in order to be able to make suitable decisions within the framework of these aches and pains. The public

relations groups must give form to this sensitivity to pain on the part of officials. He said: It is now possible in society for an event to take place without us assessing it realistically, and this will result in a failure to appreciate the pain and feeling of the people.

In conclusion, the prime minister referred to the torrent of propaganda against the Islamic revolution. He said: In view of the fact that freedom of the press in the Eastern and Western bloc countries is a lie, and the connection between their content and the goals of their governments, our newspapers must be firmly positioned in opposition to these dependent media and press. We must constantly speak sharply and stand against the enemies of the revolution. The newspapers really must spearhead our nation's attack against imperialism, and play well their independent role in this matter.

9310

CSO: 4640/455

2 April 1985

IRAN

MONTAZERI: SILENCE BEFORE WORLD AGGRESSION A BLASPHEMY

Tehran BURS in Persian 21 Jan 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] On the anniversary of the martyrdom of the valiant clergy, the late Navab Safavi, hundreds of combatants of the military forces, corps, mobilizations and gendarmerie, along with a group of relatives of the martyr of Esfehan, Lanjan Safa and the relatives of Martyr Navab Safavi and his hero combatants and sister students of religion from Kashan met with Ayatollah Montazeri. In this meeting he referred to the spiritual position of Martyr Navab Safavi and his role and endeavors at the beginning of the Islamic movement during the suffocating previous regime. He talked about the question of Jihad in Islam, and emphasized that even though the Koran is a religious narrative, more attention is paid to the Jihad than anything else.

"But the colonialists and their agents have caused the Jihad and its importance to gradually be forgotten in Islamic nations. Nevertheless, there are more than 200 passages in the Koran about Jihad. In our religious narratives are beautiful and varied interpretations about Jihad and its importance and role in the progress of Islam and the Muslim sects."

Then he explained the two divisions of Jihad--primary and defensive. He emphasized that defensive Jihad is like wisdom and conscience and is hidden in the inner nature and existence of human and animal and stated: "Primary Jihad is used for propaganda and to spread Islam in a blasphemous region. It is in this event that Jihad is declared and many of our scholars and clergy have required the permission of the immaculate imam for primary Jihad. But without doubt, in defensive Jihad when the religious, economic, national and political sanctities of the Muslim are threatened by enemy attack, defending them is the moral duty of the public and no one needs the permission of the imam. When such a condition occurs, for example, a Muslim country or one of the sanctities of the Muslims is attacked, all the classes and masses must defend them under any condition. Today, this is the situation of Islam and Muslims. Today, America and the USSR have each in a way used aggression in Islamic countries, especially in Lebanon, occupied Palestine, Afghanistan. Also their hireling Saddam in Iraq has attacked Muslim sanctity, threatened Islamic culture, and massacred innocent Muslims at Iran's borders. Under these conditions, based on the Koran and the Nahaj ol-Belaqeh (Ali's Book of Sayings) silence before such world aggression against Islam,

the Koran, and Muslim sanctities is blasphemous. Defending them and confronting crimes in any possible way is the duty of all Muslims from every rank and status."

Grand Ayatollah Montazeri stated: "Eminent Amir in Nahaj ol-Balagh addressed his comrades and said: 'Woe betide you if you have reached the condition that your enemy dares to attack you and made you his target. He attacks you but you do not attack. Your enemy encroaches you but you do not confront him.'" He emphasized, "If we are Shiite and true followers of eminent Amir we must not keep silent today before these Islamic enemies' aggression against the Koran and our sanctities, and like the eminent Amir defend Islam and the Koran with all our beings."

He then referred to the verses in the Koran about patience and said: "Unfortunately we interpret the meaning of patience as silence and tolerance in front of oppression. Nevertheless, the real meaning of patience in the Koran and religious narratives is resistance. The Koran addresses patience as Jihad and defending Islam from enemies. Patience has tremendous esteem, due to the fact that human beings show resistance and sacrifices before the enemy. Certainly the resistance of the combatants at the war fronts and the continuation of the war until final victory, and the resistance of other classes, aid to the fronts, meeting the combatants' needs, the patience of the beloved martyr families and the loss of their beloved to God and Islam indicates patience. Each person has his own way of showing patience and this is patience that God will reward extremely."

Grand Ayatollah Montazeri addressed the army officers and said: "You dear officers must know the best performance and worship at the warfront. In addition to spiritual questions and prayers, train the people and heighten the military and combat training of our dear corps and mobilization brothers in order not to waste their lives at the fronts sitting and giving slogans. Try to learn different military techniques. Our dear pilots must also use their efforts to teach their experiences to others."

He stated: "If the leaders of Islamic nations awaken from their neglectful sleep and save themselves from internal quarrels, disputes and voluptuous living and think about Islam and their nations, a few million plundering Zionists would not be able to play with the destiny of Islam and the Muslims of the Islamic nations. America in Lebanon and the Soviets in Afghanistan would never be able to massacre Muslims and bombard their families and demolish their cities. Today, Islam and the Koran has invited all Muslims to revolt against the crimes and oppression of blasphemy's fronts. If all of us are silent, we will be responsible in front of God and we will not have any reply."

Based on the same report, Mr Mahalati, the imam's representative in the Islamic revolutionary corps, Qoreysi, the Grand Ayatollah Montazeri's representative in Urumieh Now University, and the Majlis deputies from Dorud, Ozna, and Zarin-Shahrand Esfahan also met and talked with Ayatollah Montazeri.

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IRAN

MONTAZERI DISCUSSES PRISONER TREATMENT, RETURN TO SOCIETY

Tehran BURS in Persian 24 Jan 85 pp 1, 4

[Text] The directors of the supreme revolutionary court branches and Mr Bojnurdi, a member of the supreme judicial council, met with Grand Ayatollah Montazeri. In this meeting, Mr Bojnurdi first presented a report to Grand Ayatollah Montazeri about the establishment of the supreme revolutionary court, formed on the firm recommendation of Ayatollah Montazeri, the work conditions and the responsible authorities of the supreme revolutionary court branches, and the views of the primary courts. Then Ayatollah Montazeri thanked the scholars who have spent a great deal of time in these courts in order to study the verdicts and execute them carefully, free from the influence of different atmospheres and special conditions which might exist during investigations in the primary courts.

Grand Ayatollah Montazeri stated: "In these conditions, the supreme judicial council has repeatedly announced that it needs the cooperation of the devout and discerned scholars and has invited them officially in this regard. On the other hand, it is not possible to close the judicial organizations of the nation. The duty of those distinguished and knowledgeable individuals in political judicial affairs is very heavy. If these individuals refrain from participating in judicial affairs, and God forbid, if in some instances errors or infringement occurs, all those who were able to cooperate with the courts and judicial powers and refrained from doing so are responsible before God."

He emphasized the Islamic way in confronting offenders and criminals: "Those tried in the revolutionary or other courts must not be confronted with vengeance even though they have committed a gross offence. In fact, in prisons or courts these people must be treated like sick patients who are in need of mental treatment and rehabilitation in order to return them to their families and society. This is especially so in the case of young and teenage boys and girls, who due to their extreme sensitivity and lack of knowledge about the issues and occurrences, have been deluded and entrapped by devils who take political or criminal advantage of them. In this case, our fundamental task must also be based on their mental reform and the minimal assurance that they will not return to their previous futile and corrupt path. We are completely assured in this case that these individuals are not going to be deceived by mini-groups and their crimes.

We must not keep them in prisons in order to create propaganda fodder for the enemies of Islam and the revolution, even if they do not have faith in the Islamic Republic. Based on the command of the revolution's leaders, what is important to us is to ensure that the discharged prisoners are not harmful for Islam, the revolution, and society, whether they believe in Islam or not."

Grand Ayatollah Montazeri then referred to the revolution's leaders special benevolence in regard to the release of prisoners whose freedom is not harmful to Islam or the revolution and said: "Although missions of devout scholars have been assigned by the imam to study this important matter and these missions with the cooperation and efforts of the supreme judicial council have performed important tasks, nevertheless, the prosecutor general office judges and the province and town judges must cooperate more with the imam's amnesty missions and the supreme judicial council in this regard which is of interest to the leaders of the revolution. They must not wait for a mission to come from Tehran, but among their judicial duties, must start investigations about the prisoners and prepare a list of those whom they have decided do not need to remain in prison. They should send this list to the supreme judicial council or the imam's amnesty mission in order for arrangements to be made for their release."

Grand Ayatollah Montazeri in comparing the present condition of the Islamic Republic with the condition at the time of the conquest of Mecca by the great prophet of Islam and the establishment of Islamic sovereignty in the Arabian peninsula said: "During the establishment of Islamic rule in Medina and facing sabotage from the corrupt Jewish people of Baniqarizeh and other enemies of Islam, he reacted severely and executed many of the corrupt seditious individuals. Nevertheless, after the establishment of Islamic sovereignty and the conquest of Mecca, these people were no longer a threat to Islam and Islamic rule. We have seen that the prophet of Islam, showing the merciful side of Islam, issued a general amnesty and forgave many corrupt individuals like the savage Abosofyan, his own public murderer, since he did not feel any danger from their freedom."

At the conclusion, he stated that since today the Islamic Republic has been established and corrupt and devious mini-groups do not have any credibility among the people and are no threat to the revolution and its order, our political condition is similar to the epoch of the prophet and the conquest of Mecca.

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CSO: 4640/366

IRAN

KHUZESTAN GOVERNOR: PRESS MUST REFLECT PEOPLE'S CONCERNS

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 4 Feb 85 p 14

[Text] Brother 'Ali Jannati, the governor general of Khuzestan, in his first meeting with reporters, spoke on cultural and propaganda affairs and the role of the press in spreading a correct culture in the society and changing the educational system, especially in the underprivileged areas. He stressed the need to pay more attention to spreading the Islamic and revolutionary culture and pointed out: In underprivileged areas in the province, such as Shadegan, there is a need for cultural mobilization, in which task, naturally, the press and other media can play a very positive and constructive role.

Then, referring to the poisonous propaganda of the foreigners in this province, the governor general of Khuzestan said: We live in an area of the country which, due to its proximity to some neighboring countries, is under the severe propaganda bombardment and psychological warfare of the enemy, which is a result of its weakness on the fronts, and face to face combat must be more seriously countered. In this connection, the Voice and Vision and the press can play an effective role, which of course has been coordinated to some extent, and future steps will also be taken.

The governor general added: We believe that we are not only fighting on the military front. The enemy has started a practical war against us in political, cultural and propaganda areas, which we must also fight, and this war requires an understanding of the enemy's deceptive propaganda as well as serious and correct cultural confrontation with them.

Another point concerns the role of the press in presenting the fruits of the revolution.

Naturally, the activities and strides which are made in spite of the limitations must, in some way, be explained to the people and must also be reflected abroad for those who hear about our

situation. This important task is the responsibility of the media to a great extent.

Then, referring to the support of the people for the revolution and the efforts of the organizations and strivers in reconstructing the ruins and also the management of the industry and agriculture in the provinces, the governor general of Khuzestan added: We must note that if not for the support of the people, all the problems resulting from the war and the military, political and economic pressures which are imposed on our country could break down any system, whereas, we witness that the country is rapidly progressing towards construction in all areas. For instance, in the area of agriculture, in a province which is for all practical purposes under enemy fire, the crusading brothers are engaged in implementing agricultural projects. There are activities underway to make use of the water and land. Steps are underway to start operation in industries and so many reconstruction activities are being carried out.

Also, various cultural and educational areas which were very limited in the past have, today, expanded so much that they nearly conform to the educational needs: There are also other activities which need to be introduced. I even consider this a part of fighting the psychological war of the enemy. If this issue is not raised, it would cause despair in the people. In order to give a spirit of hope to the people and show them that the economic and political wheels of the country are active and are making rapid progress, by reporting on the activities which have been done, we must create hope.

Then, in connection with the reporting of the shortcomings, the governor general said: This is a role that all the committed experts and intellectuals of the society have. It is their responsibility to discover and report the problems and to offer solutions. Naturally, the press can also analyze these issues correctly and reveal them to the authorities to be dealt with seriously. Also, reports on the deprivation, problems and hardships that the people face is the main duty of all of us and most of all, that of the press.

Another point is that the press explain the weak and strong points of the organizations that serve in various areas and in this way help reform the system. In this case, not only the executive organizations but the judiciary and legislative organizations as well are included. In any case, if we believe that the press can be the voice of the people and the eyes and ears of the authorities, wherever there are weak or strong points, they should be reported so that the decision-makers in the legislative, judicial and executive areas can find solutions for them. I personally consider this a main duty of the press at the provincial level. We support this idea and are practically

prepared to report or discuss in the newspapers those issues of concern to us. However, there is a point, which is the manner of the presentation of such issues. Perhaps most differences of opinion and tasks concern the manner in which issues are presented.

Then, in connection with the reaction of the authorities to criticism, the governor general of Khuzestan said: Perhaps every official now welcomes criticism. However, in practice, we see that they cannot tolerate it. In my opinion, the issues must be dealt with fairly. Weaknesses must be reported, but in the light of the existing geographical problems, the problems that face the revolution today, and all the limitations and difficulties that exist in carrying out the tasks. Furthermore, criticism must be made keeping in mind the goal of reform and constructiveness. If such is the case, no one would oppose it, but we will even support it. The guidelines that have now been ratified in the Majlis relieve many of the problems. We have faith and continue to believe that criticism and discussing the problems and shortcomings will not only not weaken the organizations, but actually strengthen them, because they will make the officials think about eliminating the weaknesses. There should be no fear of criticism or the reporting of weaknesses. However, the brothers must also hear the problems and hardships of the officials and the reports must be constructive. There is a difference between saying something and trying to catch a person in an act to ruin him or speaking in order for an official to hear a problem and resolve it. These two are quite different and there is a delicate line separating them. If we observe this delicate line, we can deal with the problems very easily.

Brother Jannati added: In the work of the press, the writing of headlines is very important. This is one of the problems that we have constantly seen. High ranking officials have discussed and pointed out that if newspaper headlines are written with care, they can be beneficial. On the other hand, if care is not taken, they can be harmful and create problems. Any given news item or headline can be presented in two ways and can be interpreted in two ways. This is a delicate matter. In any case, a headline can be constructive or destructive.

The governor general added: If we feel that we are in a family, it does not matter how we express the issues; but if we feel that we are outside the family and take an aggressive stance, naturally, such an attitude will result in conflict and lack of cooperation. God willing, such will not be the case.

In connection with the Office of the Governor General and its affiliated organizations, brother Jannati said: Certainly, the discussion of the issues of the province are necessary and it is in the interest of the officials for the issues to be somehow

discussed and expressed in the country. We have always faced extremes and waste. We see cases of officials who expect that wherever they go, their every step should be followed by the propaganda and news organizations, and they always talk about themselves. There are also individuals and officials who think that if a report is published about them, it would be interpreted as hypocrisy and self-aggrandizement. Hence, in order to avoid hypocrisy, they avoid reports on their activities and accomplishments. We must not involve ourselves in such extremes. I and other officials do not expect the press to follow us, but they should report at a reasonable rate what is, on the whole, useful to the people, so that the people will be informed of what is going on in the province. We will also try to eliminate the weaknesses that existed in the Office of the Governor General in the past. Our brothers who work in various units of the Office of the Governor General will inform you of the news and events. However, you yourselves must keep more in touch. I will also ask the public relations office separately to cooperate closely and regularly with the brothers of the press and inform you of what is going on in the Office of the Governor General. Whenever the brothers of the press have a question, they will be responded to; otherwise, they can be referred to us for answers. In any case, the officials have a duty to discuss the issues and to respond to questions which are asked. I will raise this issue in the administrative council.

The governor general of Khuzestan then said: It is not proper for us to fail to do something under the pretext of not having the funds. The art is to be able to respond to the needs of the people under the present conditions of the province, despite the shortages and limitations. Budget shortages are no excuse for work slowdowns and the failure to implement various projects.

Then, addressing the press of the province, the governor general of Khuzestan said: We expect you to report the problems as the voice of the people. I have seriously wanted for us to be able, outside the normal organizational channels which report the problem to us, to seek out the problems of the people through various ways and to establish contact with the people. To do so, we have tried to make active the office for investigating complaints, which was practically closed with the appointment of a new director. Unlike in the past, it should not be merely administrative paper work, so that someone sends a complaint to be forwarded to the concerned office and then a copy of the response is sent to the complainant. The aim, rather, is to really set out to solve the problems and bring about results regarding the complaints and requests.

Concerning the establishment of open meetings with the people, brother Jannati said: We intend to provide an opportunity for anyone who wishes to come and speak his mind for a few minutes,

in order for us to hear the people's problems from their own mouths, to be informed of what problems they have, and to try to eliminate them as best we can. Of course, this is one of our duties and we do not wish to make anyone indebted to us.

In conclusion, the governor general of Khuzestan said: Not only will we not be upset or offended if the press raises some issues, but, if it is truthful, we will be pleased. God willing, we will be able to show this in practice, prove that we are not in the least offended by having the shortcomings brought up, and take measures to manage the affairs. The people should be assured that the doors of the officials of the Office of the Governor General and affiliated offices will be open to them, because it is the official who enjoys the support of the people who will be successful in his work. I hope God will grant all of us success in serving the people, God willing.

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IRAN

IRAN-IRAQ WAR IMPASSE REVIEWED

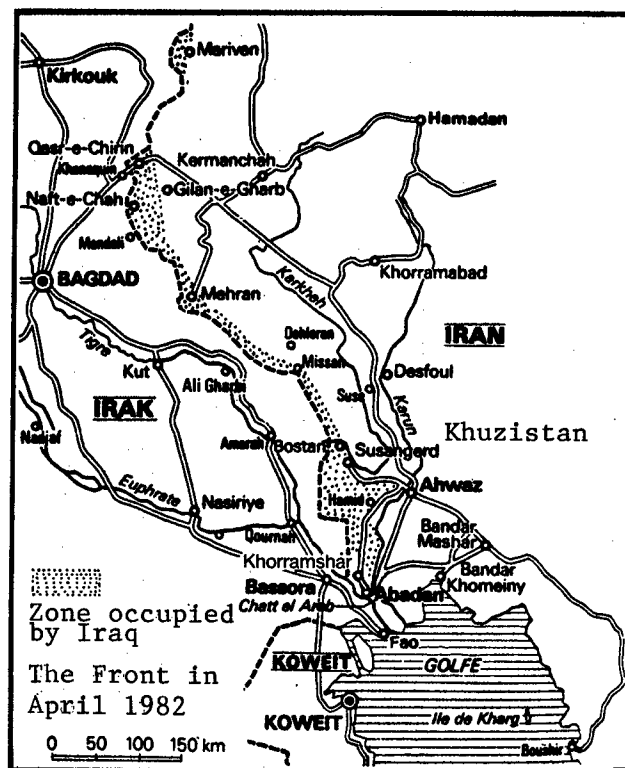
Paris POLITIQUE ETRANGERE in French 4th Quarter 1984 pp 857-871

[Article by Mohammad-Reza Djalili, associate professor at the University of Paris II and guest professor at the University Institute of Higher International Studies in Geneva: "Iran-Iraq--Year Five of the War"]

[Text] On 22 September 1984, the war between Iran and Iraq entered into its fifth year. On this occasion, a certain number of commentaries and analyses were published in international journals. These articles provoke several comments. First of all, the relatively limited number of them, which is doubtless explained by the fact that the beginning of Year 5 of the war does not coincide with the phase in the conflict which might have serious international consequences, while this war in the final analysis is only of interest to international public opinion to the extent that oil supplies are threatened or there is a risk of its expanding or spreading. Then there is the cautious nature of the conclusion, probably due to fear of committing the same errors as in the past in connection with an unpredictable war and one in which the developments foreseen only rarely come to pass. Finally, there is the emphasis on a new aspect, to wit the rapid change in the attitudes of the two warring countries in the course of recent months.

The purpose of our commentary will be to establish the basic characteristics in this new phase of the war, and to derive therefrom the consequences for the near future. In an attempt to do this, we will try initially to assess the changes which have recently occurred in the military, economic and political sectors, as well as on the international scene. In a second phase, taking the new realities into account, we will review the options available to each of the belligerent powers. But before getting into the heart of the subject, it would perhaps be useful very briefly to recall the major phases of the war from its beginning to the present day.

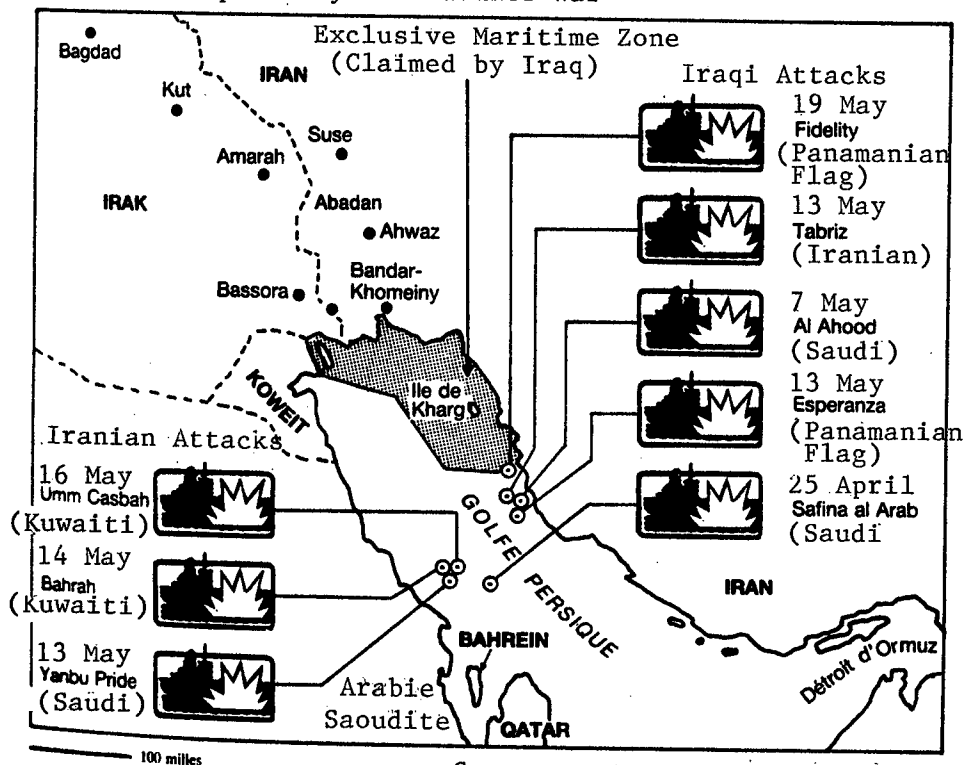
One can distinguish five main phases in the development of the war since hostilities broke out. The first began on 22 September 1980, when the Iraqi army forces were given the order to attack Iranian military targets. By employing a blitzkrieg strategy, the Iraqis hoped both to "recover" certain parcels of territory and to weaken the regime in Tehran, either to create conditions favorable to its fall or to force it to compromise. By its very nature, this phase was brief, and ended in November at the very latest. The regime in Tehran was not weakened, and was even stronger, but the Iraqis now



Source: GUERRES ET CONFLITS D'AUJOURD'HUI, No 1, October 1984 (for maps 1, 2 and 3)



The April-May 1984 Tanker War



Source: THE TIMES, London.

occupy a strip of Iranian territory 600 kilometers long and about 20 kilometers wide, including three important towns: Qasr-e-shirine in the north, Mehran in the center and the port of Khorranshahr in the south.

The second phase began at the end of 1980 and ended in September of 1981. This was the static war, in which, on the Iraqi side, the concern was to strengthen the points taken by establishing a strong defensive apparatus, while on the Iranian side resistance to the invader was organized while preparing to win back the part of the national territory the enemy had occupied.

In September of 1981 the third phase began, and the first Iranian counter-attacks of any size forcing the Iraqis to retreat were seen. This was the war of retaliation. First the Iranians lifted the siege of Abadan, and then they took back Khorranshahr in May of 1982. By June, Iran had recovered almost all of its territory.

The fourth phase, which began in July of 1982, was one of offensive warfare pursued by Iran in Iraqi territory. For the Islamic regime, it was a question as of that time of taking its revenge first of all, eliminating the Baas party government, and then exporting the Islamic revolution and even completing one step toward the "liberation of Jerusalem." This phase, the longest and the most costly in human life, did not finally end until several hills in Iraqi Kurdistan were taken and a bridgehead was established on the Majnoun Islands in the Howeiza marsh near Bassora. However, if these positions could not be speedily made a point of departure for more extensive penetration of Iraqi territory, they were likely to become traps for their occupants.

After various offensive campaigns and following the last "final offensive" in February 1984, which resulted in failure, the war entered into its fifth phase. This new stage was characterized by a freeze on the land front and several rather limited naval air attacks (tanker war) in the Persian Gulf region. Was this a return to a new static war heralding new offensives and counteroffensives? Was it a period of waiting which might lead to other possibilities? In order to advance some possible answers, one must attempt to characterize this last phase of the war more accurately from various points of view.

The Military Situation

The armed forces of the Islamic Republic seemed at this time to be suffering from three basic problems: the lack of material resources, recruiting difficulties and a dearth of cadres, and finally, major disagreements among the various components of these forces.

Since the beginning of the conflict, Iran had suffered from a sizeable handicap: the shortage of military equipment. This lack was due to the denunciation pure and simple, by the Islamic regime, of the majority of the contracts for the purchase of weapons signed in the era of the Shah, which was inevitably to lead to a halt in all deliveries to Iran, and also to the deterioration and "disappearance" of the existing equipment, for lack of maintenance

and supervision. In the first stages of the conflict, Iran, still in possession of substantial foreign exchange reserves, sought sources more or less everywhere, through all kinds of channels and in great haste, for the weapons it needed. In addition, it appears that the Iranian army is, for lack of resources, less wasteful than that of Iraq. And finally, until 1982, Iraq experienced major difficulties in obtaining deliveries from its main supplier, the USSR. All of these factors had the result of creating a sort of balance between the two countries in the realm of military materiel.

But beginning in 1983, the balance was gradually altered to the benefit of Iraq, for several reasons. First of all, there was the change in the weapons delivery policy of the Soviet Union, which decided at the end of 1982 to provide massive supplies of weapons to Iraq and to abandon its policy of strict neutrality, being by then persuaded that the pursuit of this policy could in the long run serve to alienate Iraq without however being compensated on the Iranian side. Then there were the deliveries of weapons from France, which honored its contracts with Iraq and which even signed a new one in April of 1982. And finally, Iran, isolated on the international scene, was having increasing difficulties in obtaining heavy weaponry, tanks and planes, even at high prices. In 1984, the decline in oil income and the accumulation of losses of military equipment during the last major offensives still further deepened the chasm existing in this connection between the two countries. Adding to these facts the almost de facto embargo on weapons to which Iran was subjected for several months because of the development of a sort of tacit understanding between the two superpowers, one can still better assess the disadvantageous situation of Iran. In connection with the balance of forces between the two countries at the present time, the most reliable estimates point to 2.5 Iraqi combat tanks for each one Iran has, four Iraqi armored vehicles for each Iranian one and five Iraqi planes for each Iranian aircraft.

The second problem from which the Iranian armed forces suffered was the shortage of personnel, a problem occurring, moreover, on all levels of the military hierarchy. With a population of 40 million, as compared to 14 million for Iraq, Iran has a certain advantage in terms of available human resources. But the Islamic regime has used and abused this advantage many, many times. While for a certain period the mobilization of hundreds of thousands of combatants did not seem to pose any insurmountable problem, the situation had been different for several months. The terrible human losses, the successive failures, the apathy of the population and economic problems were the aftermath of the initial thrust. The "volunteers" were less and less willing and a number of young people attempted to avoid compulsory military service. Despite all of the resources utilized by the regime to step up recruiting, it seemed that from the point of view of troops, Iran and Iraq reached a relative parity at about half a million men for each country.

Where cadres were concerned, despite the massive "purges" at the beginning of the revolution, what remained of the army officers succeeded in keeping the military machine functioning more or less. But subsequently, as a function of the development of the domestic political situation, the army continued to suffer occasional purges. In addition, basically because a number of officers found it impossible to identify with the values preached by the regime, a

The Existing Forces

Iraq

Iran

Land Army

350,000 men

280,000 men

+

+

Troop Strength

400,000 people's army volunteers

300-400,000 Bassidji and Pasdarans

Materiel

2,000 tanks, including:

200 T-72s

250 Chieftains

80 Scorpions

2,200 T-54/55s and T-62s

PT-76...

More than 2,000 tank transporters

2,900 VTTs and light armored vehicles:

AML, M.3 Cascavel, ERC-90,

BRDM, BMP, BTR

1,500 artillery pieces including

130mm LRMs and 155mm GCTs

Ground-to-ground missiles: Frog,

Scud and SS.21 (?)

Antitank missiles: Hot, Cobra,

Snapper, Sagger, Milan

Ground-air missiles, Soviet type

1,000 tanks, including:

200 M-60s

300 Chieftains

Scorpion

T-54/55s and T/59s (Chinese)

Some T-72s

Fewer than 500 tank transporters

Fewer than 1,000 VTTs and light armored vehicles

900 artillery pieces of varying origin, including M109As

Antitank missiles: Tow, Cobra

Ground-air missiles: Hawk, Rapier, Tiger Cat

Iraq

Iran

Navy

More than 6,000 men

10 patrol boats

12 OSA.1- and OSA.2-class missile-launching patrol boats (Styx)

12 motor torpedo boats

15 or so Super Frelon helicopters armed with Exocet missiles

10-15,000 men

2 destroyers

12 missile-launching patrol boats (La Combattante type)

7 small patrol boats

Several speedboats

Source: GUERRES ET CONFLITS D'AUJOURD'HUI, No 1, October 1984.

continuing disaffection on the part of officers leaving the army by every possible means was seen. The hijacking of aircraft, helicopters and patrol boats by dissatisfied officers in recent times is but the more spectacular aspect of this trend. This also explains the decision of the government to reinstate hundreds of commissioned and noncommissioned officers excluded at the beginning of the revolution, a decision which, moreover, does not seem to have met with much success thus far.

Another peculiarity of the armed forces of the Islamic Republic is their heterogeneous nature, which while it had always been a problem, caused ever more serious disagreements and dissension in this period of difficulty and uncertainty. These forces are made up of two elements: the regular army and the guardians of the revolution, or Pasdarans. The regular army is a disciplined body trained in a nationalist spirit, open to new techniques and thus to the modern world. The guardians of the revolution are militia men who were recruited after the revolution for the purpose of guaranteeing the security of the regime and offsetting any possible future attempt by the regular army to upset the situation. In addition to serving as the pretorian guard of the regime and the Islamic counterpart to the national army, they play other roles as active agents of terror with regard to civilian society and the right hand of the mullahs entrusted with the "ideological control" of all of the army units. This status as both a competitor and supervisor obviously does not facilitate relations with the traditional army.

In terms of the strategy to be pursued, by simplifying things a bit one could say that the Pasdarans are roughly speaking the diehards, the advocates of war at all costs who reproach the army for hesitation, for never leading the attack, and for evading the "Islamic combatants" in terms of logistics only. As to the officers in the army general staff, the career men, their general thinking is that lessons should be derived from the frustrated efforts, that the war should be pursued more rationally and above all, that adequate and functional equipment should be made available to the army. In addition, the army has always opposed suicide operations undertaken by waves of men.

Facing these Iranian armed forces which are ill-equipped, lacking in unity and suffering from an ever greater dearth of men, it is entirely erroneous to believe that there is an Iraqi army entirely without shortcomings. It is true that this army is now very well-equipped and does not seem to be plagued by excessive internal differences, but it too has its problems, among which one might mention by way of example the following: the bitter memory of the debacle at Khorranshahr, the exhaustion caused by a war of attrition, the high cost it has paid thanks to the Iranian offensives, and which it will probably have to pay in the future as well. On the other hand, despite its advantages over Iran in equipment, the land army and above all the Iraqi air force have often revealed lack of skill and difficulty in carrying through a large-scale precision operation. In short, the efficiency of the Iraqi army is not proportional to its material resources, and this is the reason, moreover, for the rather fragile morale of the troops which are likely to collapse speedily in the event of a major penetration by the Iranians.

Economic Factors

The war places a heavy burden on the economy of the two countries, and vice versa, since the economic situation, and above all financial capacity, through their impact on the potential for purchasing weapons, exert their influence in turn on the military situation.

On the Iraqi side, following the destruction of its terminal on the Persian Gulf in 1980, the shutdown of the oil pipeline crossing Syrian territory in April of 1982, and the exhaustion of its strong foreign currency reserves, the economic situation became particularly difficult. But during these recent months, thanks to an austerity policy, better use of aid from the Arab monarchies and also because of the increase in the capacity of the only oil pipeline still available to it--that which crosses Turkey--Iraq seems to have succeeded in improving and correcting this situation somewhat.

As for Iran, which had with considerable difficulty succeeded in managing its problems until 1983, it has shown signs of serious economic deterioration in the past few months. This situation has structural origins and situational causes. Structural origins here means the economic mistakes of the revolution, the decline in the production of the industrial and agricultural sectors, unemployment, inflation, the devastating effects of the war (such as the destruction of the economy of Khuzistan, the richest province in Iran, and 2 million displaced persons), and above all the inability of the government, after 5 years in power, to draft a consistent economic development proposal, the effects of which are making themselves ever more keenly felt in the economic situation of the country. To this must be added, since this past summer, a new phenomenon which is likely to have serious consequences: the drop since the month of July of oil sales by a half. Until that time, Iran had an average production rate of 2.5 million barrels per day, but during the summer, production dropped to 1.1 million barrels, reducing oil income for the country to \$600 million a month instead of \$1.5 billion. If we take into account the fact that the monthly cost of the war comes to about \$500 million, we can better understand the current difficulties on the economic level.

The problem which arises is whether this drop in export is a temporary or enduring phenomenon. Is it due to a change in sale policy of the Islamic regime, which still involved, just recently, offering substantial discounts to buyers willing to purchase goods from Iran? Is it the result of a deterioration in trade relations with Japan? At the present time, it is very difficult to answer these questions. One thing, however, is certain, and that is that Iran, which cannot obtain foreign financial support, like Iraq, cannot survive such a situation for very long, and thus the Tehran regime will do everything possible to put an end to it.

The Political Situation

The total impasse reached in the war on the military level and the deterioration of the economic situation in Iran are obviously having a tremendous impact on the political life of the country. The struggle for power which

has continued without respite for nearly 6 years within the apparatus of the Islamic regime is being still further exacerbated as Khomeyni grows older and the problem of who will succeed him becomes more acute. This merciless rivalry among the political-religious leaders cannot be separated from the development of the war, which is the primary problem which the country must face. The harsh or moderate speeches by these leaders might in the final analysis have had a positive impact if they had led to a contradictory debate. But because of the structures of the regime which they themselves adopt, on the one hand, and the unchanged determination of Khomeyni to continue the war until Saddam Hussayn is brought down, on the other, the government leaders have very limited maneuvering room. None of them dares to adopt an original position concerning the war or to diverge from the Ayatollah's guidelines, with risking the fate of certain of his former friends and colleagues. All of this gives rise to a plethora of ambiguous speeches, contradictory statements and policies without a future such as the opening toward the West, the efforts to strengthen relations with the friendly Arab countries. It also leads to propaganda campaigns which work against each other, launched by this or that leader, such as for example the recent campaign urging Iran as the leader of the struggle against "Zionist imperialism," designed in fact to divert attention from the rebuffs at the front, and the "year of blood" campaign launched in the schools at the beginning of the school year in order to whip up enthusiasm for the battle against the Iraqi enemy.

Whatever the case, the disputes and disagreements among the leaders of the Islamic Republic are such that some commentators have not hesitated to blame Iran's lack of progress at the front on the rivalries setting the members of the Islamic revolutionary elite against one another. Without going that far, one might nonetheless note that this situation has been aggravated as the balance of forces at the front has changed in the course of 1984. In a way, the war in the field has been paralleled by a domestic conflict about the war.

This confused situation in the political sector cannot obviously fail to have its effect on the armed forces, which are both participants and what is at stake in these rivalries. The divisions between the regular army and the guardians of the revolution are becoming greater, but it also seems that new differences are appearing within the army itself, wherein disagreements have developed between the general staff officers, the commanders in chief of various army corps and the minister of defense. Sometimes the arbitration of Khomeyni is required. Sometimes he intervenes and sometimes he refuses to take sides. One has the impression, due allowances being made, of seeing a repetition of the scenario after the hostages had been seized, when no one knew any longer who wanted what, what decisions should be made, nor even who was making the decisions.

In Iraq, the political situation has developed differently, and paradoxically the authority of President Saddam Hussayn seems to have been strengthened. The movements of Islamic inspiration have been decapitated thanks to merciless repression, those who at one time believed that the resignation of the chief of state would contribute to settling the problem of the war were

eliminated, and relations between the army and the government even improved as soon as Saddam Hussayn, as commander in chief of the army, personally assumed responsibility for the defeat of the Iraqi army at Khorranshahr. But the strengthening of the Iraqi president's position is also due in part to the decline of the public image of the Islamic Republic among the Sunnite, Christian and moderate Shiite Iraqis because of the excesses and outrages committed by the clergy in power in Tehran. In addition, the alternative Khomeyni is offering Iraq, that is to say the establishment of an Islamic republic in Baghdad headed by an Iraqi ayatollah who has sought refuge in Iran, and who would be a sort of satrap of the Iranian regime, is not acceptable to the Sunnites, nor the Kurds, nor the army, nor any lay fringe in the opposition to Saddam Hussayn's regime. In fact, thanks to its long-term agitation and policy, the Islamic Republic has made the presence of Saddam Hussayn at the head of the country practically indispensable in the view of many Iraqis, even some of those who do not like him.

The International Dimensions

The attitude of third nations has not changed basically in the course of this last phase of the conflict. The superpowers have continued their policy of official neutrality, while at the same time pursuing their own interests and avoiding too unilateral a commitment which might threaten the future of their relations with the two warring countries. On the regional level, the splits which occurred in the Arab world at the beginning of the conflict have not altered, while Israel has seemed to continue to support Iran with a view to weakening the Arabs, and Turkey, while remaining neutral, has developed its economic relations both with Iran and with Iraq as never before. However, in recent months, some new factors have emerged and certain trends have been borne out and merit note, since they may either influence the course of the conflict or have important consequences for the future of the entire region.

Among these facts, we should note first of all the very definite improvement in the Soviet position. In fact, the USSR had succeeded in maintaining links with Iran while strengthening its position in the Arab world.

Despite the very noticeable increase in its deliveries of weapons to Iraq, and despite the paralyzing blow dealt to the activities of the Tudeh Party by the Tehran regime, the USSR maintains economic relations with Tehran, is safeguarding its channels for diplomatic communication and, above all, is continuing to supply Iran indirectly with weapons through the intermediary of North Korea, or Syria. Within the context of the Arab world, the Soviet policy toward the conflict, although not lacking in ambiguity, has brought Moscow positive results. On the one hand, the Soviet Union has remained the faithful ally of the so-called Arab regimes, such as those in Syria, Libya and South Yemen, which actively support Iran, while on the other, by supplying Iraq with weapons, it wins the approval of those Arab circles known for their moderation and, for their part, pro-Iraqi. This trend toward a rapprochement between the USSR and the traditionally pro-Western countries thanks to the conflict between Iran and Iraq, which has enabled Soviet diplomacy to diversify its operations in the Middle East considerably, is one of the most interesting aspects of the recent developments. The most spectacular event in this connection was the signing in August 1984 of a weapons

contract between the USSR and Kuwait, according to which the emirate will obtain advanced military equipment from Moscow worth a total of \$300 million. In addition, for the first time in its history, Kuwait will accept Soviet military experts who will be entrusted with the training of Kuwaiti personnel. This contract represents a signal addressed to Washington, which refused to supply the Stinger missiles which Kuwait had requested for use in defense against air attacks, but at the same time it reflects the desire of a number of moderate Arab countries to put their relations with the two superpowers back in balance, convinced as they are of the inability of the United States to give them the help they want.

The second interesting fact to be noted has to do with relations between the United States and Iran. In fact, a number of factors have emerged in recent times which, taken together, might have worked in the direction of a detente in American-Iranian relations. Among these we might mention the deterioration of the relations between Moscow and Tehran, the efforts of the Iranian regime to be more open toward the West, the matter of the use of chemical gases and Iraq's responsibility as revealed by the American officials in May 1984, or, as mentioned above, the refusal to provide Kuwait with missiles. None of these elements is negligible, and under other circumstances, they might have had an effect on bilateral relations. But where the Islamic republic is concerned, no perceptible change could be seen in the attitude toward the United States. Despite the advantages it might have derived from even a timid move closer to Washington--the weakening of Iraq, pressure on the USSR, access to weapons, etc.--the Islamic regime preferred to maintain its hostile attitude toward the United States. Thus at least for the time being, everything seems to confirm that anti-Americanism is a basic principle which it would be difficult to reconsider.

The third point has to do with Saudi Arabia. The Saudi policy toward the war has always involved supporting Iraq financially, while at the same time keeping that country at a certain distance to avoid becoming its hostage. In addition, Saudi Arabia has done everything possible to avoid taking the risk of committing its own forces, not even allowing Iraq to use its territory. But following the Iraqi attacks on the ships headed toward Kharg Island and the Iranian response, Saudi tankers were damaged in the zone near the Saudi coastline. On 5 June 1984, the Saudi air force took action for the first time, shooting down an Iranian Phantom. This unprecedented action by Saudi Arabia resulted in the establishment of a line, called the "Fahd Line" by certain journalists, beyond which the appearance of no Iranian aircraft would be tolerated.

The fourth and last point relates to the international scope of the conflict thanks to the oil problem. For months now, not a week has passed without one or several oil tankers being attacked in the waters of the Persian Gulf, or damage done to the installations in Kharg Island by Iraqi bombers. And yet the oil market has remained stable, and for the first time in recent years, it is being realized that the effects of a crisis in this region can, under certain circumstances, remain quite limited. This situation follows the saturation of the oil market, on the one hand, and on the other, the repeated experience of seeing difficulties follow one upon the other without producing

excessive dramatic consequences on the international level. But this state of affairs has a major negative impact, in that it perpetuates a war which does not involve any or more "serious risks."

Options and Limitations

While it is practically impossible in the case of the war between Iran and Iraq to make accurate predictions as to the outcome, it is nonetheless possible to try to discern from the current situation as we have tried to assess it what various options are available to the two warring parties.

Negotiation seems to be the inclination of the Iraqis, who for some considerable time already have proclaimed their desire to undertake a process for the peaceful settlement of the conflict. However, it appears that the conditions required to make the launching of such a process possible are not by any means fulfilled. From the Iranian point of view, participating in negotiations would mean at the outset making an important concession, to wit recognition of the Baas regime and the authority of Saddam Hussayn as head of the Iraqi Baas state. Negotiation would also mean abandoning the claim against Iraq as the party initially responsible for aggression, which Iran is currently pressing insistently. It would be hard to win acceptance for such a renunciation from a people who have been so harshly affected, and to whom the Iranian leaders have constantly preached relentless pursuit of such a murderous and costly war. Finally, and this is in our view the most important point, negotiation with Iraq would come down to abandonment of the messianic aspect of the Islamic revolution, and would entail rejection of the proclaimed goals, a process of "de-Khomeyni-zation" which it seems very premature to predict now.

In view of the reluctance on the Iranian side, the Iraqis, in order to force their adversary to negotiate, would have to make use of such methods as economic strangulation, or again work toward internationalizing the conflict. Now it seems clear that either of these two strategies would be difficult to implement. Given the almost total dependence of Iran on the oil terminal on Kharg Island to produce the foreign exchange of which the country has crucial need, economic strangulation seems theoretically profitable. But this strategy, which would involve establishing a total blockade of the island and bombing the oil installations, would in order to be truly effective entail great technical mastery, adequate resources, and above all the possibility of making this strangulation last long enough for Iran to exhaust its reserves entirely, without however being in a position to put its oil terminal back in service again, which from a technical point of view is possible in relatively short time. On the other hand, given this scenario, Iraq would run the risk of seeing Iran forced to stake its every last resource and to launch a massive ground and air attack, which might have unforeseeable consequences. Thus it seems clear that, at least for the time being, Iraq hardly has the resources or even the will to employ this high-risk strategy. As to the isolated Iraqi actions against maritime traffic around Kharg Island in recent months, they have failed to yield the desired results. The current oil shipment crisis, forcing shipowners to take great risks, the high premiums demanded for insurance on vessels with overestimated value, and the

vast technical resources available for safeguarding cargo and repairing ships have been such that the deterrent effect of these attacks has not counted for much.

As to an Iraqi effort to internationalize the conflict, it would be necessary first of all for Iran to make this possible by allowing itself to be drawn into a maneuver which would be fatal for it, to wit, the establishment of a second front. In addition, this strategy would require the involvement of other countries such as Saudi Arabia or Kuwait in the conflict, followed by powers outside the region. Given the current state of affairs, neither Iran nor the Arab countries in the Persian Gulf region nor foreign powers have any interest in an expansion of the conflict.

Just as the establishment of negotiations seems quite unlikely in the near future, in the light of the above-mentioned factors, it would also seem that one must rule out the implementation by the Islamic regime of the oft-reiterated threat of launching another "final offensive." It would in fact be a question of risking a very dangerous bluff, given the current balance of forces situation. A little bad luck or a slight error in calculation might be enough to convert this offensive into a tragedy for Iran.

There remains the possibility of freezing hostilities for a longer or shorter period. From the Iraqi point of view, this would mean letting the situation deteriorate, relying speculatively on the collapse of the morale of the Iranians, expansion of the unease within Iran or a possible change in the political situation in the country. However, Iraq itself is hardly invulnerable to such a situation, since the relative stability of the regime in Iraq could be threatened in the long run by pressures resulting from the continuation of the state of war.

For the regime in Tehran, such a freeze in hostilities would mean yielding to the theses of the army and accepting a suspension of hostilities in order to allow the renewal of the Iranian military arsenal and the closing of the currently existing gap between the two countries in this respect. But this would entail the implicit recognition of a primary role for the Iranian army, a change in the policy of the nations which are the major suppliers of weapons, which would in turn depend on a change in the foreign policy of the Islamic policy, etc. An arduous undertaking, and one which would require that a number of conditions, none of them presently to be found, be met.

For Tehran as well as for Baghdad, the war is thus at an impasse today. The days when it was regarded from the Iraqi side as a "military excursion" which would soon lead to the neutralization of the mullahs are long gone. Similarly, the era in which the war was glorified in Tehran, making it possible to rise above internal quarrels, to legitimize the regime, to stimulate the revolutionary impetus, to justify the repressive apparatus and to conceal domestic problems is in the past. Today, the war is laid bare with its absurdity and uselessness leaping to the eye, but no end can yet be seen.

IRAN

ARTICLE PREDICTS END TO SIX-YEAR TURMOIL APPROACHING

Paris MOUVEMENT 'IRAN LIBRE' in French 4 Feb 85 pp 1-2

[A weekly publication published by Azadeh Shafiq, daughter of Ashraf Pahlavi; "The Beginning of the End"]

[Text] For the past 6 years, a regime of terror has gripped Tehran. It is an unprecedented fact in the annals of contemporary history. In 1799, France had come into the Bonaparte era. In 1923, Soviet Russia was getting to know the NEP [New Economic Policy]. For the past century and a half, no nation has been under so much pressure for so long. We have reminded our readers many times that this extended period may be explained by the permanent intrusion of foreigners in our affairs and the idea in the back of the minds of the dominant Western circles that the destruction of our people could be profitable to others.

The fact remains nonetheless that no community can find a final equilibrium in permanent revolution. Proof of this was reported in other places. The status quo can no longer be maintained in our land for very long. This vague feeling is shared by every person and this general impression is the first characteristic of the time in which we live. All the Iranians who reach the West are unanimous on that one point. Daily life in our capital and in our provinces reflects this deep belief that the regime is at the end of its rope.

There should be, however, no mistake about this situation. It is pregnant with immediate dangers. When an animal feels trapped, it attacks. The Khomeyni leadership is too cynical not to be realistic under its appearance of mysticism and illuminism. The leaders cannot ignore the fact that they are being condemned by their partners, economically stifled, abandoned by their allies and hunted down from all sides. An abyss is opening before them. They have only one possibility in order to save themselves, the same one that the hostage affair and the Iraqi war had given them in 1980 under similar circumstances--finding a diversion which offers them a lifebuoy in the confrontation with outsiders. As it stands,

the armed conflict they are so carefully nurturing against the Baas can no longer serve this purpose alone. They find themselves in the almost inescapable obligation of reactivating international terrorism which, through its spectacular actions, will allow them to weigh once again in the balance of power. It is to that end that they are now working constantly. The Western powers, and France in particular, may very well come to this realization before long. Having made this clear, let us add that this type of initiative, assuming the Shiite extremists operate under the most favorable conditions, can only give them a final reprieve which, in the end may be short-term, their fall being inevitable.

Unfortunately, this is about to take place under the worst conditions for our people. There is no one ready to ensure the change over. Our army alone could have taken charge. However, there is no longer an army. Our military machine was knowingly and systematically dismantled. In this sector, there no longer is either a single command or a general staff. Four armed factions are acting concurrently. What is left of the regular units is trying to safeguard the old traditions. The guardians of the revolution, themselves torn with internal strife, are pursuing the course of their demands. The Hezbollahis, directly subordinate to the faghhih, have their own structures. Finally, leftists of all types are getting restless in the shadow. After being severely repressed in the large towns, they scattered into the provinces, where they rapidly reorganized their network of activities under the guise of pursuing autonomist schemes or separatist demands.

It must be added that our land has become the first international sanctuary of cosmopolitan terrorism. Individuals from all over the world may be found here, from Sri-Lankans to Italians, not to forget the Palestinians, of course. It is certain that, when the time comes, all these agents intent on destabilization, armed to the teeth, whose sole avocation is subversion, will not stand idly by while the system collapses.

Our country is a powder keg that the least spark will ignite. The Iranians' first duty, whoever or wherever they may be, is to do their utmost to prevent this explosion. We only have one choice: Either to await tragedy or to prevent it by laying the foundation for a new balance. Only a regrouping of all valid factions, in forgiveness and reconciliation, can lead to a viable solution. Let us keep in mind the terrible trials suffered by our homeland. One more upheaval and it will be the end of our unity, perhaps for a long time to come: Those who, in this crucial hour, prove to be divisionary agents would bear the heaviest historic responsibility.

6857
CSO: 4619/33

IRAN

MARTYR FOUNDATION RECEIVES 10 BILLION RIALS FOR PRODUCTION INVESTMENT

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 4 Mar 85 p 2

[Text] KEYHAN Political Service—The Majlis met in public session this morning.

At this session, after readings from the glorious words of God and comments from deputies to the country's executive officials, the articles of the 1364 [21 March 1985 — 20 March 1986] budget and the suggestions of deputies with regard to these articles were discussed and studied.

At the beginning of the session, proposals pertaining to Amendment Four were presented, and Khodakaram Jalali proposed that sentences on dry farming and feed be added to Article Four in this amendment. No vote was required for this proposal, and the sentences were added.

Seyyed Ahmad Kashani then proposed an amendment to Article Four allocating eight billion rials credit under Article Two for the procurement of machinery and agricultural implements for the reconstruction crusade's gradual cultivation projects.

Farmers qualified to make use of the provisions of this article will be announced by the Ministry of the Reconstruction Crusade, so that they may sign contracts with the Agricultural Bank. Executive guidelines for this article will be drawn up by the Ministry of the Reconstruction Crusade and the Ministry of Agriculture.

'Abdollah Nuri and Hoseyni spoke as opponent and advocate of this proposal, and explanations were provided by Ha'erizadeh, a Plan and Budget Commission expert, Engineer Ranganeh, Minister of the Reconstruction Crusade, and government representative Morteza Alveri.

The proposal was then submitted to a vote on a motion from Seyyed Ahmad Kashani, and was rejected.

After that, 'Alavi-Tobar proposed that for Article Four of this the term 'imprest' be replaced by 'interest-free loan.'

Opponents and supporters of this proposal spoke, and it was submitted to a vote and passed.

'Ali Penahandeh then proposed the removal of Article B of Amendment Four. Hoseyn Pur Salari and Gholam'ali Shohraki spoke as opponent and advocate. An expert from the Plan and Budget Commission gave explanations and spoke in opposition to this proposal.

The proposal to remove Article B was then submitted to a vote and rejected.

Proposal to Amend Article Five Amendment Four

After that, a number of deputies proposed amending Article Five Amendment Four, to the effect that 10 billion rials in interest-free credit and other gift facilities under Article Two be made available to the Islamic Revolution Martyr Foundation by the Worker's Bank (assigned by the Central Bank) so that with expansion and investment in existing and newly-established companies and the production projects associated with the foundation, to be spent solely for the purchase of government companies and companies under control of the government and the Foundation for the Oppressed at the appraised price (the government and the Foundation for the Oppressed are also authorized to sell to the foundation) in order to employ soldiers and the children, wives, and parents of martyrs, the bereaved, and prisoners of the imposed war. The Martyr Foundation is obligated to make arrangements so that the above persons can participate in these companies and production projects. The Martyr Foundation can also pay the credit necessary for employing the above persons directly to them. The maximum repayment period for each unit or project is six years after receipt of credit, but in any case the repayment must begin by the beginning of the year 1366 [21 March 1987].

The executive guidelines for this Article were drawn up jointly by the Martyr Foundation and the Central Bank over a two-month period and were approved by the Council of Ministers.

Fuad Karimi and Musavi Tabrizi spoke for and against this proposal. Each gave his views with regard to the proposals submitted. An expert from the relevant commission and Mehdi Karimi, supervisor of the Martyr Foundation gave explanations and spoke in support of the proposal. The proposal to amend Article Five Amendment Four was then submitted to a vote and approved.

Fuad Karimi then proposed amending the last of Article B Amendment Four to the effect that the remains of affairs pertaining to the implementation of this amendment be provided for in the national budget for a maximum of five years.

Sobhanollahi and Pur-Salari spoke for and against the proposal, and explanations were given by an expert from the commission and a government representative. The proposal was then submitted to a vote on a motion from Fuad Karimi and rejected.

9310

CSO: 4640/455

IRAN

GROUP OF INFIRM IRAQIS UNILATERALLY RELEASED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 4 Mar 85 p 21

[Text] Iran has unilaterally released 27 infirm Iraqi prisoners. The Iraqi prisoners were sent to Ankara, capital of Turkey, for return to Iraq.

In the wake of measures taken for the welfare of Iraqi prisoners by Iran, a number of these prisoners were treated by the medical delegation of the Red Crescent, located in Tehran, and were prepared for return to their country as planned by the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Yesterday morning the Iraqi prisoners were sent to Ankara under the supervision of representatives of the Turkish Red Crescent at Mehrabad Airport.

Of this group of prisoners, Reshad 'Aziz was the youngest at 20 years of age, and 'Abd ol-Hoseyn 'Abd ol-'Ala ol-Shohdi was the oldest at 68 years of age.

According to this report, Na'im Mohsen, 30, who appeared healthy, was happy to be returning to Iraq. He had been in the Heshmatiyeh camp of Tehran for three years. He said: My most cherished memory of the Tehran camp is the humanitarian treatment by camp officials at the height of power.

Na'im Mohsen is a non-commissioned officer in the Iraqi army. Calmly puffing a cigarette, he said: I will never go to war against the Iranian forces. He said that he was worried about his wife and two children in Iraq, and added that during his stay in Tehran, despite the fact that he could easily correspond with his family, he wanted to see them again badly.

He said that if housing could be found he would return to Iran with his family, and that he would keep happy memories of his time in the camp.

Jasem Mohammad 'Abdollah, who was reading a book of short stories, expressed thanks in an interview for the services of the Iranian officials during the three years of his stay in Tehran. He added that during this period he had read 400 books of interest to him. Jasem Mohammad, who is 34 years old, expressed appreciation to the camp librarian at the Heshmatiyeh camp of Tehran for services provided to him. Jasem, whose left arm was wounded, described services to him and two others from the medical staff at Tehran's Family Hospital. He said: Dr 'Ali Asa, a military doctor at the Army Family Hospital, performed surgery on my left arm, which I had lost the use of because of damage caused by an explosion, and I regained control of it.

According to this report, all of the prisoners but one appeared in good spirits despite their physical infirmities, and expressed appreciation to the Iranian officials in the moments prior to departure for their services to them, and happily expressed their pleasure at being able to return to Iraq.

The report also says that two of the prisoners were on crutches and one was in a wheel chair.

Mr Unal Saman Su, Director of the Red Crescent of the Republic of Turkey, who was at the head of the delegation supervising the dispatch of the Iraqi prisoners to Turkey, was talking with the prisoners and getting their views. He said in an interview: Two of the prisoners were not authorized to fly because of their inability to withstand the stress of flight. For this reason, their return will be arranged at the earliest opportunity.

Reshad 'Aziz, the youngest Iraqi prisoner, said that during the three years of his stay in the camps of Tehran he enjoyed many benefits, including the continuation of his education.

He continued: I had completed the ninth grade, and I was able to complete two more years in Iran. He said: I studied religious subjects with interest, and today I am happy to be a true Muslim. Islam is sweet for someone who wants to be a Muslim and do his duty.

Reshad 'Aziz, a resident of Nahr Ardabil, added that throughout his imprisonment he studied the Persian language.

This report goes on to say that the Iraqi prisoners left Tehran yesterday afternoon at three on a military flight for Ankara, the capital of Turkey. They were accompanied by officials from the Islamic republic and a Turkish supervisory group.

9310

CSO: 4640/453

IRAN

IRAQ SAID TO REFUSE ACCEPTING RELEASED POWS

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 16 Feb 85 p 19

[Text] Thursday the Foreign Ministry of the Islamic Republic of Iran announced that one month after the announcement of the unilateral release of a number of Iraqi prisoners by Iran and after official follow-up by a third country, Iraq has not announced its acceptance of these prisoners.

Thursday a Foreign Ministry official told the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY in a telephone contact: The Islamic Republic of Iran has made a regular practice of releasing groups of Iraqi prisoners at specific intervals, as a humanitarian gesture and in the hopes of encouraging the other side to respond in kind, but we have continually met with the Ba'thist regime's procrastination and delay in accepting the released prisoners. For example, with regard to the last group of 74 released by Iran, we succeeded in returning this group to Iraq only after notifying the Red Cross representative and requesting the immediate acceptance of the released prisoners, and this situation continues. Unfortunately, the Iraqi regime, because of its inhumane nature, is hesitant and slow to accept any humanitarian gesture. It appears that the reason for Iraq's fear and anxiety over accepting these prisoners is that it may come under international and domestic pressure to respond in kind and release some Iranian prisoners.

He added: Experience shows that in such cases Iraq, acting under compulsion, in such cases releases non-military prisoners who are being kept illegally in violation of the 1949 Geneva Convention.

The Foreign Ministry official was asked what measures would be taken with regard to the current group and groups to be released later, in view of Iraq's failure to accept the prisoners. The Islamic Republic of Iran now considers these prisoners free, but since the Geneva Convention requires that the other country announce its acceptance, in practice we cannot transfer the prisoners to a third country until Iraq accepts them. We will continue taking these measures in this area, however. With regard to this issue and many other problems having to do with the unilateral release of prisoners, whether wounded or not, we have communicated officially with the special United Nations group, and we have asked that it reflect this situation and propose ways to remove the obstacles and difficulties in Iraq.

9310
CSO: 4640/453

IRAN

BAKHTARAN ROAD CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITIES FOR MAR-SEP 84

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 4 Feb 85 p 14

[Text] Bakhtaran, SOBH-E AZADEGAN traveling correspondent. The central office of roads and transport of the Province of Bakhtaran in the course of the period 21 March-22 September 1984 has completed the following projects from among its projects underway. Also, it has maintained the more than 3,000 km of roads under its administration, within the limits of its resources.

The public relations office of the central office of roads and transport of the Province of Bakhtaran announced the projects completed during the first six months of this year as follows:

1. Maryam Gar Bridge, with dimensions of 3 by 10 meters, with 21,500,000 rials in funds.

2. The rural Sartipabad-Vazmaleh Road, 8.2 km, with about 20 million rials in funding.

Improvement of the Road Network of the Province

1. Warm asphaltting of the Javan-Biashush road, 10 km, at a cost of 40 million rials.

2. Cold asphaltting of the Patoq-Rijab road, 6 km, with 15 million rials in funds.

3. The graveling of the Kuzaran-Darash road, 32.5 km, with 4 million rials in funding.

4. The graveling of the rural road from Kalshak-e Olya to Kalshak-e Sofla, 3.2 km, with 1.8 million rials.

5. The graveling of a portion of the Sangez-Kamyaran road, an approximate length of 20 km, with 4 million rials in funds.

Construction and Completion of Secondary Roads

1. The construction of the Mahidasht-Qozgabri secondary road, 28 km, with cold asphalt, with about 158 million rials in funds. Also, other projects underway by this central office have made an average of 20 percent progress. The failure to complete some of them is due solely to the shortage of funds. In the first six months, all the funds allocated for this year were spent and the continuation of work was not possible. In addition to the above operations, which have been implemented in the form of developmental and road maintenance projects, this office has maintained, to the best of its ability, all the more than 3,000 km of roads under its administration. It is noteworthy in regards to road maintenance, especially in regards to the main roads of the province, that since the surface damages to the roads exceed the amount which can be repaired, they require resurfacing and major repairs. We hope that with the procurement of the necessary funds, the necessary measures will be taken.

10,000

CSO: 4640/423

IRAN

TWENTY-FIVE INTERNATIONAL SMUGGLERS HANGED

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 29 Jan 85 p 15

[Text] In accordance with the ruling of the Tehran Islamic revolution prosecution courts to fight narcotics, at dawn yesterday, 25 international professional smugglers, each of whom had a long continuous history of distributing narcotics and who were condemned to death, were hanged in the courtyard of Qasr Prison with the approval of the high court. The names of those executed and their offenses are as follows:

(1) Manuchehr Khosravifard, son of 'Alireza; (2) Mohammad Khorrami, son of Aqa; and (3) Darab 'Asgari, son of 'Asgar; for grievous, continuous activities in the procurement and distribution of narcotics, the discovery of a total of 9.39 kg of opium in their possession, the possession and sale of two bags or 13.45 kg of opium, the procurement and sale of 21.5 kg and 16.5 kg of opium in 1 transaction, and 4 prior convictions.

(4) Jalal Qorbani, son of 'Ali Asgar, known as Jalal Ahangar; (5) Mohammad Tareq Ghaffari, son of 'Abdolghaffar, an Afghan national, for grievous and continuous activity in the procurement and distribution of heroin, the purchase and sale of 3 kg of heroin on 2 instances, the purchase and sale of 1.5 kg of heroin in 150-gram packages, the possession of 47 grams of heroin at the time of arrest, and 4 prior opium and narcotics convictions; (6) Moheb'ali Naseri, son of Soltan'ali; (7) Ebrahim Rashidzadeh-Shahinabadi, son of Nikola; (8) Karim Nurmeskin, son of Ahmad, for grievous and continuous activity in the procurement and distribution of heroin, the transportation from Orumiyyeh to Tehran and sale of 7.5 kg of heroin in 2 phases, the discovery of 1.45 kg of heroin in the home of Ebrahim Rashidzadeh-Shahinabadi, the discovery of more than 9 kg of heroin in the home of this group, and numerous prior convictions for the procurement and distribution of heroin.

(9) Hasan Barezani, son of Rashid; (10) Hefzollah Rasuli, son of Sa'id, for the possession of 2.9 kg of heroin at the time of arrest, the sale of 6 kg and the delivery of 1 kg of heroin to

agents, several sales of heroin in 20-gram packages, grievous and continuous activity in the procurement and distribution of heroin, the procurement and distribution of narcotics and illegal arms.

(11) Hoseyn Kerdarian, son of 'Abbas, alias Hoseyn Ostad 'Abbas, for serious and continuous activities in the procurement and distribution of heroin, the purchase and sale of heroin in 5-gram packages for 2 years, the possession of 37 grams of heroin at the time of arrest. He has had numerous convictions for the procurement and distribution of heroin.

(12) Mehdi E'temadi, son of Mohammad; (13) 'Adel Badavi-'Ishgehsu, son of Jasem; (14) Fazel Badavi-'Ishgehsu, son of Jasem, all three for grievous and continuous activity in the procurement and distribution of heroin, the possession of 2.98 kg of heroin at the time of arrest, 18 prior convictions for the procurement and distribution of narcotics, complicity in the procurement of 7 kg of heroin from Orumiyyeh and its sale in Tehran, and the procurement and sale of 1 kg of heroin in 5-gram packages.

(15) Motalleb Qomi-Avil, son of 'Ali, aliases Fereydun and Feri, for the possession of 435 grams of heroin, serious activity in the procurement and distribution of heroin in 50- and 100-gram packages, the purchase of 1.32 kg of heroin, 3 prior convictions for the procurement and distribution of heroin and addiction.

(16) 'Abbas Motobahheri, son of Asghar, aliases Asghar and Jamshid; (17) Mostafa Fath'ali-'Amu, son of Mohammad Taqi, alias Mostafa Taqi Serkehshireh; (18) Reza Fardmashiri, son of Ahmad, alias Reza Bani; (19) Gholamhoseyn 'Amu Sheykhi-Dulabi, son of Ne'matollah, all for grievous activity in the procurement and distribution of heroin, the purchase and sale of 0.5 kg of heroin, the purchase and sale of 7 kg of heroin, the purchase of 6 kg of heroin on several occasions, and 10 prior narcotics convictions.

(20) Seyyed Asadollah Mirsharifi, son of Seyyed Mohammad; (21) Sa'id Tavakkoli, son of Mohammad; (22) 'Ali Akbar Mohammad-Amini, son of Abolhasan; (23) Seyyed Mohammad Mirsharifi, son of Seyyed 'Abdollah; (24) Nahid Tavakkoli, daughter of Mohammad; (25) Rofiyeh Khatun 'Isa-Beygi, daughter of Hasan, for grievous and continuous activities in the procurement and distribution of heroin, the formation of a heroin smuggling ring, the purchase and sale of 14 kg of heroin in Zahedan and its sale in Tehran, the possession of 2.8 kg and 530 grams of heroin at the time of arrest, the possession of 2.65 kg of heroin in 5-gram packages, and numerous prior convictions for the procurement of heroin from Zahedan and its sale in Tehran.

IRAN

ISOLATION AGGRAVATED BY INCREASING INSOLVENCY

Paris MOUVEMENT 'IRAN LIBRE' in French 11 Feb 85 pp 1-2

[A weekly publication published by Azadeh Shafiq, daughter of Ashraf Pahlavi; "On the Brink of the Abyss"]

[Text] The Islamic Republic is in the process of becoming totally isolated from the international diplomatic scene. All the nations on which it thought it could rely in the past are tacitly abandoning it one after the other. Thus, as we have unceasingly emphasized for years, the United States, through the ambiguity of its methods, never until recently stopped working behind the scenes for the consolidation of the extremist Shiites. However, for some time now, it has seemed to change its policy. Ronald Reagan's public attacks against Khomeyni during his electoral campaign were not idle words. There is every indication that, with its brutal "jilting" technique, which all of its partners have bitterly experienced at some point, it is in the process of completely abandoning the secret or acknowledged accomplices which it had in Tehran.

The tougher attitude of Saudi Arabia is very significant. Submissively following the promptings of its Pentagon protectors as usual, the Riyadh court is raising its voice. It no longer hides the full support that it is now giving to the faghih's enemies. The meeting of the Seven Arab Countries Committee held in Baghdad from 20 to 22 January must be interpreted in that context. The conservative countries were broadly represented. In addition to Saudi Arabia there were Kuwait, Jordan, Morocco and North Yemen, as well as the PLO itself. This list alone is proof of the scope of the development under way. For the first time, Yasir 'Arafat is acting as an opponent of the Islamic Republic over the birth of which he presided with so much noise. King Hassan II, once so prudent, is following the same path. This attitude on the part of both countries is the more significant since a particularly rude communiqué was issued at the end of the conference: "It is obvious that the Islamic Republic, being sure of winning the war, does not want to put an end to it."

Khomeyni is trying to stir up his allies once again. He wanted to regroup South Yemen, Algeria, Syria and Libya within a single front. To this end, Cheik-ol Eslam, a high official from his Ministry of Foreign Affairs, invited his counterparts to come to Tehran. Yemen refused, giving in to the pressure of its Saudi lenders. Algeria itself backed out. It had always disapproved of the desire to continue the war against Iraq. It no longer hides that position. As for the Libyans and Syrians, they came, to be sure, but the comments they made were less than reassuring to their interlocutors. Colonel Qadhdhafi continues to proclaim his attachment to the cause of the Khomeyni subversion, but he, also, does not approve of the belligerence of the Khomeyni government. The case of Syria is even more characteristic of the overall upset. Despite its doctrinal hostility toward the Iraqi Baas, it now confines itself to an attitude clearly more reserved every day. No one could reasonably be surprised by this attitude: For the most part, does it not depend on Rhyad when it comes to finances? Each year, it receives a subsidy of 700 million dollars from Saudi Arabia to which are added 300 million dollars from Kuwait. It also receives substantial agricultural aid. How can it resist threats from the South? Even Libya is trying to ease its relations with the oil monarchies. Its spectacular reconciliation with the Rabat regime may be viewed in that context.

The depression being experienced by the Islamic Republic can be explained by its growing insolvency. The financial war unleashed against it by its Arab partners in all sectors is now added to its military war against Iraq. Not only must it sell its oil at ridiculous prices, but it is also seeing a catastrophic decline in its exports. It can barely survive domestically. How can it give anyone abroad any kind of support? The countries which once received its subsidies are now forced to seek them elsewhere. It now finds itself besieged and starved. Its main co-contracting party, Japan, is blackmailing and strangling it.

The Islamic leaders are being hemmed in on every side and placed in the most difficult situation they have ever experienced since coming to power. They are not blind to the fact that the moves against them are in reality engineered from Washington. They are trying to loosen the grip which is choking them and they are obviously returning to this policy of bluffing and verbal intimidation which worked so well in the past. We know that Prime Minister Moussavi recently made a much publicized visit to Nicaragua. On his first trip to the West, he defied the United States in its private preserve of Central America. However, there is something almost laughable in the braggadoccio with regard to the all-powerful Yankees.

The fall of the crew at the helm in Tehran is unavoidable. Yet, it will not necessarily take on the form of a spectacular counter-revolution. In the present circumstances, any upheaval can bring about the fall of the state machine itself, a fall that no Iranian would advocate despite the feeling of horror which the current ruling clique inspires in each of us.

IRAN

OPPOSITION REPORTS ON DEFECTIVE IRANIAN ARMS PURCHASES

JN110928 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0718 GMT 11 Mar 85

[Text] Baghdad, 11 March (INA)--Reports here today say the Iranian regime has once more concluded a big deal involving arms that were later found to be unserviceable. Iranian opposition sources informed al-Thawrah here today that an Iranian circular on this issue, leaked to these sources, points out that air-to-surface missiles the Iranian regime recently bought from international arms dealers have been tested and were found to be of the type used for training purposes only; they are useless for combat purposes. The opposition sources affirmed that the Iranian regime cannot sue the dealers because the deals were concluded with international smugglers.

The Iranian regime's defense ministry strived to prevent the leaking of information about deals of this kind, for which the Iranian rulers bear responsibility.

CSO: 4604/27

IRAN

OIL EXPORT TO NICARAGUA SAID TO START END OF 1985

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 14 Feb 85 p 4

[Text] According to statements from diplomatic sources, Iran has agreed to send oil to Nicaragua and it is expected that these oil exports will start at the end of 1985. According to a REUTERS report from Mexico City the sources indicated that this agreement resulted from last month's negotiations between the president of Nicaragua Daniel Ortega, and the president of Iran, Mir Hoseyn Musavi. Mir Hoseyn Musavi's two-day trip to Nicaragua caused the U.S. to express concern. Iran's support for Nicaragua's ruling Sandinista National Liberation Front caused Reagan to hint at a new danger in Central America. According to statements from diplomatic sources, Iranian experts will visit Nicaragua in the near future in order to study and discuss the volume of oil shipments and the manner of payment. A high-ranking official noted that Iran has adopted a political decision and that details will be studied by specialists. It is said that Nicaragua will export sugar to Iran in exchange for oil but these sources emphasize that no decisions have been made about the details of this agreement.

The same source rejected U.S. reports that Iran has proposed the sale of arms to Nicaragua in order to arm the nation's army with a strength of 640,000. Nicaragua has received vast arsenals containing AK47 rifles and T54 and T55 tanks from the USSR Foreign military specialists residing in Nicaragua believe that the army of Nicaragua is sufficiently equipped. Nicaraguan officials have frequently expressed the desire to strengthen their air force, the smallest in Central America after Costa Rica, through the purchase of modern fighters.

These sources indicated that Iran's oil will decrease Nicaraguan reliance on Mexico and the USSR which are the only two countries providing crude oil to Nicaragua. Based on unofficial statistics, Nicaragua imports 48 percent of its oil on the basis of 30 day payment agreements from Mexico. The remainder of its needs are met by a USSR credit line. Venezuela stopped exporting oil to Nicaragua in September 1982 due to late payments by Nicaragua.

Western diplomats anticipate that the Nicaraguan-Iranian agreement will intensify the Reagan administration's criticism which has been hostile towards both countries. Washington has accused Iran of encouraging international terrorism and Nicaragua of exporting leftist revolution to Central

America and as being the representative of the USSR and Cuba. Iran's political support of Nicaragua goes back to 1979 when both nations toppled their previous regimes.

At the conclusion of his visit to Nicaragua, Mr Musavi stated that there are many mutual interests for both revolutions.

9815

CSO: 4640/404

IRAN

BRIEFS

BANK NOTES REPORTEDLY STOLEN--If Radio "Nejat Iran" is to be believed, 11 crates filled with bank notes, ordered from Stockholm by the Iran Central Bank, vanished from the Mehrabad airport. Yet the crates had been delivered to Iran by special plane and later loaded into trucks which were to carry them, under proper escort, to the Central Bank. The trucks, however, disappeared and their drivers have escaped. The numbers of the bank notes have been transmitted to the issuing bank. However, in a country in the throes of anarchy, in which swindles are rampant due to the omnipotence of the committees, it seems out of the question that the gendarmerie will ever catch the thieves. Moreover, this is not the first time that an operation of this type has occurred in the Islamic Republic. A year and a half ago, a "gang" attacked a government printing office located in the southern quarters of Tehran one night. The guard was killed and stamps worth millions of tomans were stolen. The attorney general of the Islamic Republic, unable to find the guilty parties, sheepishly declared some time later: "It was certainly counterrevolutionaries who staged the holdup." [Text] [Paris MOUVEMENT 'IRAN LIBRE' (a weekly publication published by Azadeh Shafiq, daughter of Ashraf Pahlavi) in French 17 Dec 84 p 3] 6857

REDISCOVERED SANCTUARY--The main result achieved by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon is now being challenged anew. Qadhdhafi has once again assumed the leadership of the temporarily disarticulated terrorist cells. The issue of NEWSWEEK dated 21 January announced that a "Revolutionary Committee of Palestinian Arabs" is acting openly in the Bekaa plain, under the Jamaheira. Its members receive a monthly bonus of \$165. It has been noted that large deliveries of arms took place last December in the Syrian port of Latakiah. We will wager that we will soon see extremist revolutionaries act once again, for the small new group will surely follow the path already laid out by the Islamic Djihad. [Text] [Paris MOUVEMENT 'IRAN LIBRE' (a weekly publication published by Azadeh Shafiq, daughter of Ashraf Pahlavi) in French 4 Feb 85 p 2] 6857

FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF DESTABILIZATION--Dr Ray Klein, former chief of the CIA Information Bureau and now director of the International

Research and Strategy Center of Georgetown University, made a very interesting statement to the magazine SEAPOW. If he is to be believed, we should expect an increase in autonomist insurrections in the whole region from Afghanistan to the Mediterranean. The USSR, he thinks, has already established bases of subversion and is ready to take advantage of this to chase the United States and its allies out of that part of the world. Dr Klein feels that it would be totally illusory to foresee a Soviet withdrawal from Kabul. The USSR will certainly not agree to let go of its prey. It will give the Afghans only a facade of independence similar to that it deigns to give Outer Mongolia. It will fight to the end, even if it means "killing every last Afghan." Finally, Dr Klein believes that the Kremlin is laying propitious groundwork on its southern border which would enable it to intervene directly in Iran and Pakistan. According to him, Afghanistan is primarily an advanced strategic base completing the system of which Syria is the first western milestone. [Text] [Paris MOUVEMENT 'IRAN LIBRE' (a weekly publication published by Azadeh Shafiq, daughter of Ashraf Pahlavi) in French 4 Feb 85 p 2] 6857

RELIGION ABOVE LAW--An "Islamic Thought" Conference was held in the Laleh Hotel in Tehran on 27 January 1985. Five hundred religious leaders of the Ouma met there under the sponsorship of the hosjatoleslam Khomeyni, president of the republic. Khomeyni declared on that occasion: "The Islamic government problem is of primary importance. It is one of the most serious with which the Muslim world must contend at present. We are preparing for a general fusion of the state within Islam throughout our entire community. It is this trend which is feared most of all by the great imperialist powers. Prior to our glorious revolution, which serves as example to the world, the satanic governments of the West had succeeded in convincing the faithful that political power and religion were incompatible. Great Britain in particular persisted in spreading this heresy. Our primary duty is to prove that the opposite is true." [Text] [Paris MOUVEMENT 'IRAN LIBRE' (a weekly publication published by Azadeh Shafiq, daughter of Ashraf Pahlavi) in French 11 Feb 85 p 2)] 6857

FUNDS LACKING --Cooperative societies are said to have an acute need for a 180-billion-rial loan in order to be able to place at the peasants' disposal the equipment and agricultural products they need. As it stands, they only have 2 billion rials. This lack of funds results in a draining of the countryside which makes the Iranian agricultural problem more acute. It must also be added that a lack of equipment and tools is not the only cause of the farmers' suffering. The public authorities are not in a position to supervise and advise them. They acknowledge this fact. Shirdast, president of the Central Union of Cooperatives, summarized this situation in a concise statement: "We lack equipment; we lack cadres. We cannot help the farmers. We only have 50 teachers for 2,100 societies with 3,800,000 members." In order to understand

the present pressure fully, it is necessary to remember that in our country farmers account for half of the total population. They are abandoning the countryside to crowd into the towns, creating a potential hotbed of revolution with reactions which cannot be predicted. [Text] [Paris MOUVEMENT 'IRAN LIBRE' (a weekly publication published by Azadeh Shafiq, daughter of Ashraf Pahlavi) in French 11 Feb 85 p 2] 6857

CSO: 4619/33

PAKISTAN

ZIA'S ATTEMPTS TO AMEND 1973 CONSTITUTION TERMED INAPPROPRIATE

Karachi AMN in Urdu 14 Feb 85 p 2

[Article by Jumma Khan: "Nothing Wrong with Amending the Constitution"]

[Excerpts] The political structure proposed by General Zia on 12 August calls for general elections and amendments to the 1973 constitution. General Zia has neither dismissed the 1973 constitution nor has he expressed any desire to revoke it. However, on several occasions he has mentioned his intention to make this constitution wholly Islamic. He does not consider the 1973 constitution in its martial law version appropriate at this time. He believes that it is necessary to amend this constitution to make it compatible with Islamic principles. Another reason for amendments is to balance the powers of the president and the prime minister. In his opinion, the 1973 constitution gives too much power to the office of the prime minister compared with the president. Thus, to balance political power is a must.

No country can claim a flawless constitution and all countries at one time or other feel the need to amend their constitutions. However, it is not easy to touch the issue of amending a constitution and no ruling group likes to amend a constitution. When it is essential to amend a constitution, ruling parties usually try to get support from the opposition. In this way, the constitution is respected by all parties. The constitution is not a wax doll, and a government cannot use it as a toy.

Just before its general elections, India needed to amend its constitution badly in order to stop politicians from changing their political affiliations. The ruling Congress party had the two-thirds majority in the House needed to amend the constitution. They could have made any amendments, but still they asked the opposition for advice. The opposition suggested changes in the proposed amendments that were unacceptable to the ruling party. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, however, advised his associates to incorporate those suggestions in the amendments. The amendments were passed with acclaim and the constitution maintained its respected position. As a part of his efforts to implement Islamic rule, General Zia has established a commission to study the constitution under the chairmanship of Zaffar Ahmad Ansari. This commission has made several recommendations to the government. Several other committees, including the federal council committee, were also established for this purpose and all of them suggested some changes to the government. General Zia and his associates have studied all of these recommendations and accepted those they consider good and rejected the rest. The

political structure presented on 12 August is based on some of these recommendations. The remaining recommendations will be raised in the future.

At present the country is under martial law rule. The 1973 constitution is suspended and a temporary constitution known as a PCO is in effect. The Supreme Court, the high courts and the shariat courts are under the martial law and PCO jurisdictions; they do not adhere to the constitution. The government will be conducted according to the 1973 constitution only when it is implemented again.

Mr Zaffar Ahmad Ansari is a veteran politician and is a scholar of Islamic teachings. General Zia's government has accepted most of the recommendations made by his commission. Mr Ansari recently suggested that all amendments that General Zia's government wants to make should be approved by the Supreme Court. This would avoid problems and the constitution would retain the appropriate respect. Mr Ansari has given sage advice to the government. However, we have to keep in mind that these courts are controlled by the martial law government and the PCO. How can these courts rule against the wishes of these two groups? It should also be remembered that the judges of the Supreme Court and high courts have not taken oaths to follow the 1973 constitution since it was suspended and overruled by the temporary constitution. These judges are not qualified to final decisions about the 1973 constitution. We must not forget this important point: As long as the 1973 constitution is suspended, we cannot legally amend it.

7997

CSO: 4656/87

PAKISTAN

PRO-BHUTTO DEMONSTRATION AT PRESS CLUB FETE DEPLORED

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 7 Feb 85 p 3

[Editorial: "Who Is Guilty?"]

[Excerpt] A party to honor Habib Jalib on his 57th birthday was given at the Karachi Press Club. Mr Jalib is a popular poet of democracy and deserves this honor. This party, however, turned into a propaganda platform for the Pakistani People's Party (PPP). This was not appropriate and it does not behoove the Press Club to be a vehicle for party politics. Even though MRD leaders were invited to this party and were given places of honor, they were insulted by the "Long live Bhutto" slogans. Most of the political parties in the MRD are strongly opposed to Bhutto and consider him the one who eliminated democracy from this country. The MRD was established to support implementation of the '73 constitution and not to support Bhutto. In a meeting of the MRD, only slogans supporting democracy and the '73 constitution are permitted. It was decided before that pro-Bhutto slogans would not be allowed at any MRD meetings. During the meetings in Lahore's Masjid-e Shaeeda and Neelay Gumbad's Masjid, leaders of the PPP themselves had forbidden all pro-Bhutto slogans. They did not want to offend members of the MRD. This function at the Press Club, even though an "MRD show," was used for anti-MRD purposes. Pro-Bhutto slogans were raised in the presence of MRD leaders. If these slogans were a must, only the PPP leaders should have been seated at the table of honor. The other leaders should have been spared this painful experience since they have been opposed to Bhutto. What is more, the guest of honor has spent most of his life writing poems denouncing President Ayub, Bhutto the foreign minister, Bhutto the chief martial law administrator and Bhutto the prime minister. One of the reasons for this party was to recognize Mr Jalib's powerful poems attacking the Bhutto dictatorship. Mr Jalib has been writing anti-Bhutto poems all his life and there seems to be no reason for pro-Bhutto slogans at his birthday party. Perhaps all this happened because of the inexperience of the organizers. Mr Bhutto is dead and it is not wise to keep hating him. The pro- and anti-Bhutto factions in Pakistan's politics have hurt the country. Pakistan's politics must be ridden of this now. The pro-Bhutto people have lost half of Pakistan and now the anti-Bhutto elements might lose the remaining half. If someone raises pro-Bhutto slogans, we must analyze and identify the causal factors. However, forcing factional politics in a Press Club function is basically wrong. Such actions will not alleviate the problem of differences among

journalists; they will only aggravate them. It is disgraceful that a poet was insulted in the presence of journalists, intellectuals and artists. They were helpless and could do nothing to support him. Not only the administrators of the Karachi Press Club, but the whole journalist community of Pakistan should be embarrassed at this incident. The beloved poet did not come on his own, he was invited as the guest of honor and seated at the main table. He was asked to make a speech. All this indicates that the hosts had great respect for the poet, but a small group among the audience raised problems and did not let him make his speech. The organizers of the party finally sent him home and announced that he would not make his speech. At this time, some individuals even started fighting with each other. This demonstration not only embarrassed the administrators and journalists of the Press Club but the respected poet as well. We know these people who disrupted this meeting. If Mr Jatoti brought this group of ignorant and incompetent people to support him, his leadership is suspect. He does not need to have such bad behavior and stupid people tag along with him. If these people came uninvited, then the administrators of the Press Club are responsible for this fiasco. How did such uncivilized people get in, and who invited them?

7997

CSO: 4656/86

PAKISTAN

FOREIGN DEBTS, INTEREST CRITICIZED AS AGAINST ISLAMIC PRINCIPLES

Karachi AMN in Urdu 14 Feb 85 p 2

[Editorial: "Impossibly Huge Foreign Debts"]

[Excerpt] As far as we know, Islamic principles forbid the payment or collection of interest in any form within or without the country. We cannot have double standards. If we decide to eliminate payment or collection of interest on money lent, it should be in all economic spheres of our country. Eliminating the interest system in all banks in the country and then paying a huge amount of money in interest to other countries is not following Islamic principles. When we decided to stop our banks from charging or paying interest on money, we should also have considered putting an end to borrowing money from other countries. All this should have been done after careful deliberation.

Our economic experts consider borrowing money as a solution for all our economic problems. Without thinking about our past, they have been getting new loans all the time. As a result of this practice, the future of every Pakistani is mortgaged to the hilt and our economy has become an economy of borrowing. Now that we are implementing Islamic rule in this country, we must find ways to get rid of these debts. Countries and organizations that have lent us money openly interfere in our internal affairs. For example, the World Bank, which has extended several loans to us, is pressuring us to increase electricity, gas and other utility rates. The purpose of this pressure is not just to make Pakistan pay the existing debts but also to make it borrow more money at interest. The general elections will be over in the next 15 days. One of the major problems our new administration will have to tackle will be these foreign debts. If we claim to follow Islamic principles, then we must do away with these foreign debts at all costs. Of course, we have to pay interest on the loans already taken; nothing can be done about that. What we must do is close this "open sesame" door to future loans. And this is a must for us.

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CSO: 4656/87

PAKISTAN

STRONG NATIONAL, PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES ADVOCATED

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 7 Feb 85 p 3

[Editorial: "The Fad for a French Constitution"]

[Excerpt] Air Marshal Nur Khan has announced that a French-style constitution is not practical for our country. The prime minister should be appointed by the assembly and so should the president. The martial law rule should be declared null and void within 100 days of this assembly. During this period, President Zia should have limited powers and act as a supervising administrator. He should interfere only if the national assembly fails to follow a democratic system. Mr Nur Khan, Mr Asghar Khan and other such people have been associated with the army and have never seen the Ayub era. They have had key positions and they understand that our leaders' fondness for a French-style constitution is far-fetched. Such a constitution is not for us and General Zia would be well advised not to support implementation of either the Turkish or the French constitution. He will lose the '73 constitution and all we will get will be political anarchy. It will aggravate our country's political instability.

Mr Nur Khan has sincerely advised President Zia to accept the rule of a national assembly. He has also presented a plan for electing representatives to provincial assemblies. This would make our legislative bodies strong and independent. Any efforts to concentrate power in a single person should be curbed. Mr Nur Khan also says that the assembly should study any amendments proposed by General Zia. The assembly should be able to stop any amendment that is contrary to the '73 constitution.

Mr Nur Khan's advice to the future assembly members is invaluable. The success of this advice is contingent on the political views of the incumbent assembly members. Unfortunately, the boycott by the MRD has made the task of prodemocratic people extremely difficult. However, we should not give up. We must win this war so that these provincial and state assemblies do not become a joke. These assemblies should be able to implement effectively the constitution and democratic government. These efforts will not be wasted and these assemblies will be able to harness the antidemocratic tendencies of our rulers.

7997

CSO: 4656/86

PAKISTAN

REPORT DISCUSSES PROBLEMS OF OVERSEAS PAKISTANIS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Feb 85 p 8

[Article by Saeed Qureshi]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Feb. 18: One of the overriding causes compelling the overseas Pakistani workers employed in the Gulf States to return to Pakistan is blatant contravention of the contractual stipulations by the employers. This has been alleged by a large number of returnees from one of the Middle East countries.

The better working conditions of the early seventies are non-existent, they point out, adding that with the passage of time the employers there were looking more towards the West and the Far East than toward the Sub-Continent.

Despite the fact that South Asian workers are hardworking and less demanding, the contractors in the Middle East are reluctant to retain them beyond the contractual period, they added. Gradually the Pakistani and Indian workers are being replaced by whites, although the latter demand much higher salaries and fringe benefits.

Pakistani workers are seldom given a fair deal and their salaries and other emoluments are in effect always lower than those written down in the agreement. More disturbing is the attitude of the employers indicating that they are doing a great favour to workers from the Sub-Continent by employing them at their establishments.

They also allege that the Pakistani technical and non-technical workers are posted in lower jobs than those promised in the agreements. A clerk may get the post of a peon and an engineer may be

posted as a supervisor or simple technician.

Expatriate workers cannot lodge a protest nor can they initiate any action against the employers. If one insists on returning to Pakistan he can do so only as a deportee. The passports are always kept by the employer and on his small complaint, the alien worker has to face imprisonment or deportation to Pakistan. Some returnees said that the documents and agreements which are attested and endorsed by the Protectorate Office in Pakistan have no value abroad. They say no one bothers about the agreements as every decision taken is subject to the whims of the employers.

Pakistan's missions, they allege, have no proper arrangements to ensure faithful implementation of employment agreements. Even if they take up a case with the local authorities, no immediate remedies can be expected. And if the host authorities feel obliged to respond, they seldom favour the alien workers.

Since Pakistani contractors and construction companies have invariably failed to win contracts in the recent past and there is little hope for the future, they have to send their work force back to Pakistan to avert heavy expenditure and big losses. In the past couple of years the National Construction Company was forced to resort to drastic retrenchment of its various category of workers. Same is the case with several other Pakistani companies which have wound up

their establishments in the Middle East after suffering huge financial losses.

One snag pointed out by a number of Pakistani workers is the indifference and slackness of the Pakistani authorities dealing with the affairs of the overseas Pakistani workers. They have discontinued the practice of approaching the Gulf countries for signing new deals. The Gulf countries, majority of whom have now completed major civil projects, do not need the untrained Pakistani workers and there is no choice for the host but to return them to their own country. No effort is made to send fresh employees to replace those government employees who have already completed their terms of service abroad.

As a result, while the Pakistani workers have started returning to Pakistan in large numbers, the number of those going out has decreased alarmingly. The government department dealing with the problem are busy compiling the statistics. But their rough calculation is that one-third of Pakistani workers in the Gulf countries have already returned to Pakistan. The number of workers, both on deputation and in private service, was estimated to be around 1.5 million by the end of 1982. It is feared that the number of returnees will accelerate during the coming two years creating serious problems of their re-employment at home, besides reducing foreign remittances.

CSO: 4600/323

PAKISTAN

AZAD KASHMIR PEOPLE'S PARTY TO CONTEST ELECTIONS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Feb 85 p 8

[Article by Ashraf Hashmi]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Feb. 19: The Pakistan People's Party Azad Kashmir, has demanded that all laws requiring the registration of political parties or disqualification of people in the forthcoming general elections in Azad Kashmir should immediately be withdrawn. If laws aimed at debarring the AK People's Party from taking part in the polls remain in force, the Party would not accept any government coming into power as a result of such 'one-sided elections'.

The Central Committee of the Party, at a meeting held here under the chairmanship of its chief, Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim, unanimously decided to take part in the polls. It said it would get the approval of its decision from the PPP Chairman, Begum Bhutto, Miss Benazir Bhutto and the MRD. The Committee warned the State Government that if an attempt is made to bring any party into power through a conspiracy, the People's Party would launch a civil disobedience movement against such a government.

The Committee, expressed full confidence in the leadership of Begum Bhutto and Miss Benazir Bhutto and declared that it would continue to support the democratic movement of the people of Pakistan. It also supported the demand for the restoration of the 1973 Constitution and the basic rights of the people of Pakistan and condemned the recent arrests of lawyers, students, labour leaders, women and teachers and demanded their immediate release.

The Committee also considered the issue of joining hands with other political parties in order to forge an election alliance. It constituted an eight member committee to further pursue the matter with other like-minded political parties. The committee consists of Sardar Ibrahim, Kh. Mohammad Yousuf, Sh. Manzar Masood, Sardar Mohammad Yousuf Khan, Raja Mumtaz Hussain Rathore, Sahibzada Mohammad Ishaq Zafar, Malik Salim and Ch. Abdul Hamid.

About 40 members addressed the meeting. The Committee decided to launch a mass contact movement by sending its leaders to various places to address public meetings.

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NATIONAL COLLEGE OF ARTS SAID IN PERIL DUE TO POLITICKING

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[Article by Sultan Ahmed in "Rambler's Diary" column]

[Text]

When will Pakistan's only college of creative arts, which was closed a fortnight ago following outbursts of outrageous violence from a group of ultra-rightist students, re-open? And after it re-opens, possibly some time after the elections, will it continue to be an autonomous body and serve arts untrammelled by other elements, or will it be affiliated to the Quaid-e-Azam University?

How will the National College of Arts, founded 110 years ago as the Mayo School of Arts in Lahore, fare if it is affiliated to the Quaid-e-Azam University of Islamabad despite the protests of the overwhelming number of teachers and students?

No clear answers are available to any of these questions while the college, which has about 450 students, remains closed. Of course, this is not the first time the college suddenly closed. It remained closed last year as well, following clashes among students over a cartoon published by one of the students which affronted the pro-Jamaat-e-Islami students.

As a result of the violence, this time the Punjab Governor, Lt. Gen. Jilani Khan, who was to visit the college to open an exhibition of the portraits and sculptures of the Quaid-e-Azam, cancelled his visit at the last moment. So the exhibition, with a tremendous three-part mural of the Quaid-e-Azam and the leaders of the Pakistan movement by gifted painter Zahoorul Akhlaq

and a striking sculpture of the Quaid by Salahuddin Mian, remains closed and gathers dust.

A bone of contention in the college is the future of fine arts there. Out of about 450 students of the college, only about 30 are students of fine arts. About 200 of them are students of drawing and design, and about 220 study architecture.

The Jamiat-i-Tulaba students who are estimated to number about 15 activists with about 30 supporters has been agitating for the closure of the fine art section. They do not regard sculpture, figure studies, including nudes, have a place in an Islamic state. Instead they want the college to concentrate on commercial art and architecture.

The leftist and secular students who number about 100 want the college to have a fine arts section. And they enjoy the support of other students who want to keep politics out of the college premises.

The teachers who number about 40 too are determined that fine arts should have a place in the National College of Arts. Although there might be leftist or rightist orientation among them, the teachers have been unanimous in not wanting to split their ranks on any ideological basis and on safeguarding the autonomy of the college which is not affiliated to any of the universities after it was elevated to its present status from the Mayo School of Arts.

In the same spirit, despite the various groups in the left the students agreed not to divide their ranks on an ideological basis and create tension and disagreements in the college.

But the atmosphere of cohesion and serious concentration on studies began changing about three years ago, when the pro-Jamaat students began coming in. The college has a pretty good pre-admission test; but that Jamaat trains its students so that they can get through the test. So they are successful in getting admission even when they are not interested in arts much.

The first sign of the presence of such anti-fine art students entering the arts college was broken sculptures in the college premises.

Another bone of contention is the independence of the college. As the college is autonomous, it awards only diplomas after four years of teaching for students who had done Intermediate before they were admitted.

For the same kind of courses in fine arts the Fine Art department of the Punjab University awards M.A. (fine arts) degrees. So the pro-Jamaat students want the NCA too to give M.A. degrees after its four year course.

But as the NCA is modelled after British art institutions of its kind, no group had so far pressed for M.A. degrees in place of diplomas. The Dacca college of Arts founded by Zainul Abedin, too, used to give only diplomas. No student or teacher objected to that.

But the problem now is for students of the NCA who enter government service as teachers or in other capacities. For Group 17 and above appointments one has to be a M.A. Otherwise they are handicapped. A senior artist but diploma holder had to leave the Peshawar University's Fine Art

department instead of heading it because of his diploma.

But former students of the NCA like Nayar Dada have made tremendous progress and earned outstanding names for themselves although they are only diploma-holders. There is, however, no serious objection from either students or teachers to the replacement of diploma with M.A. degrees. But degrees can be given only by the university. Hence the federal NCA has to be affiliated to the Quaid-e-Azam University in Islamabad.

But the students and teachers of NCA are afraid that once it is affiliated to that university its standards of teaching will go down as in the Fine Arts department of the Punjab University. They fear frequent changes in the curricula and other forms of interference in the college affairs following the loss of its autonomy. So the students and teachers, except the Jamiat-i-Tulaba want to safeguard the autonomy and integrity of the college.

The government could solve the problem to an extent by agreeing to treat diplomas of NCA as equal to M.A. fine arts for appointment and promotion purposes. But the government is not prepared to do

that, possibly because of fear of pressure to do likewise with other diplomas as well.

A group of students holding a silent agitation in front of the Punjab governor's house on February 5 to protest against the proposed affiliation of the NCA with the Quaid-e-Azam University was attacked by the pro-affiliation ultra-right students and injuries caused to several of them.

And on February 5 when a group of students were boycotting their classes and staging a peaceful demonstration in NCA they were attacked by a group of Jamiat-i-Tulaba students armed with various weapons. Many students were injured, and two of them seriously. Some of the girl students, too, were reported to be maltreated. They burst into the office of the principal Mrs. Abbasi Abidi, and created violent scenes there.

Last year when the college was closed for a month following violent objection to a cartoon by a student, which others did not find objectionable, the NCA affairs figured in the Majlis-e-Shoora as well. Three students were rusticated then.

The principal, I am told, has a long list of students whom she wants to rusticate. And the government is reported to have indicated its approval for any kind of effective measures she could take. What happens remains to be seen after the college re-opens.

The fact is that art can flourish only in an atmosphere of freedom and tolerance. And certainly the students who come to learn art have to be tolerant or quit NCA. If instead the Jamiat-e-Tulaba insist on studying art as well as getting the Fine Arts department closed they will be doing a great disservice to art and the NCA, which is a national nor local institution.

Meanwhile, Zahoorul Akhlaq's large mural showing a young and handsome Quaid-e-Azam in what I may call a symphony in green remains in the closed hall. It is too beautiful a piece of work to remain sealed off for so long.

PAKISTAN

REAPPRAISAL OF ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE DEMANDED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Feb 85 p 8

[Text]

LAHORE, Feb. 22: Action Committee of the Pakistan Railways Diploma Engineers Association has proposed complete re-appraisal of present administrative structure of the Railway to stop unnecessary spendings and to ensure efficiency in the organisation. The proposal was contained in a resolution adopted at a convention of railway diploma engineers.

Members of the Action Committee, including Ghulam Sarwar, Chairman Pakistan Diploma Engineers Federation, and Mohammad Nasim, General Secretary Railway Diploma Engineers Association, released the resolutions passed at the convention at a press conference today.

In a resolution it was observed that efficiency and industrial peace remained at the lowest EBB in the Railway during the year 1984. There is a continuous deterioration in the efficiency and the organisation is facing a huge deficit of over Rs. 100 crores due to constant shortfall in its earnings from passengers and goods traffic. It was further observed that the present top management is neither capable to improving the efficiency of Railway orga-

nisation nor can solve problems of Railway diploma engineers and other employees.

They are passing orders which at times are causing tension and resulting in expenditure due to litigation. In this respect the resolution referred to the latest notifications issued by the Secretary, Railway Board on Jan. 15, 1985, under which 'regular' promotions of over 100 diploma engineers were converted into "Adhoc" promotions, in spite of the fact that they were working successfully on BPS-17 posts since 1979.

The resolution further pointed out that the President of Pakistan has issued directives from time to time for improvement. One of such directives led to the shifting of the Railway Board to Islamabad and then merged with the Ministry of Railways. The directive was for "improvement of Pakistan Railway".

But the present top management has nullified the objectives laid down in the President's directive. Officers of Railway Board for the year 1984 have increased manifold as compared to the previous years and the Islamabad office has been converted into "transit office".

The resolution demanded that the diploma engineers working on BPS-16 posts be vested with

'authority' for disposing of disciplinary matters of railway servants of BPS-1 to 5 under the Railway Servants' Efficiency and Discipline rules, 1975. The service matters relating to appointments, promotions, transfers and preparations of seniority lists of Railway Officers of BPS-17 and above be placed under the administrative control of Establishment Division instead of Railway Board in order to eliminate favouritism and injustice being done at present. The existing anomaly of pay scale between the foreman Grade 1 and senior chargemen should be removed and the foreman Grade 1 be granted BPS 14 alongwith consolidated allowance as prescribed under the rules.

The diploma engineer who have completed maximum of their respective BPS be "moved over", to next BPS as prescribed in the Basic Pay Scales Scheme of 1983.

The Federal Cabinet's decisions of 28.8.1984 in respect of amendments in Pakistan Engineering Council Act 1975, be implemented and diploma engineers be granted registration and representation in the Executive Committee of the Pakistan Engineering Council as per suggestions submitted to the President of Pakistan last year.

The Action Committee members said that in case no action is taken to meet the said demands railway diploma engineers convention will decide extreme steps after March 31.

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END